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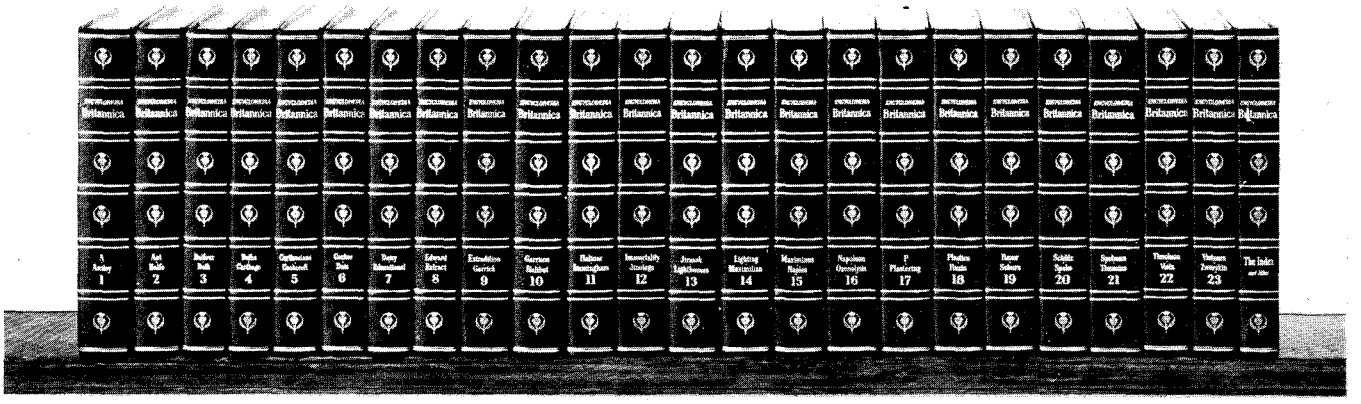

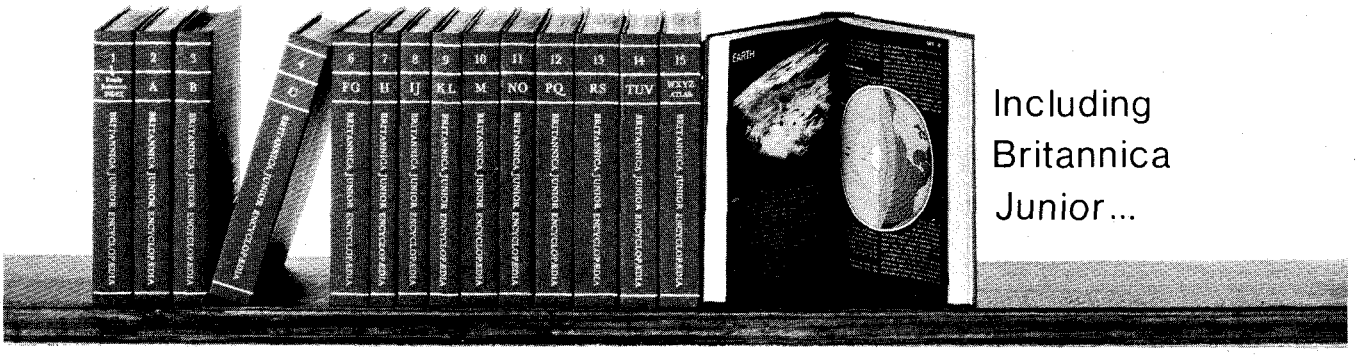

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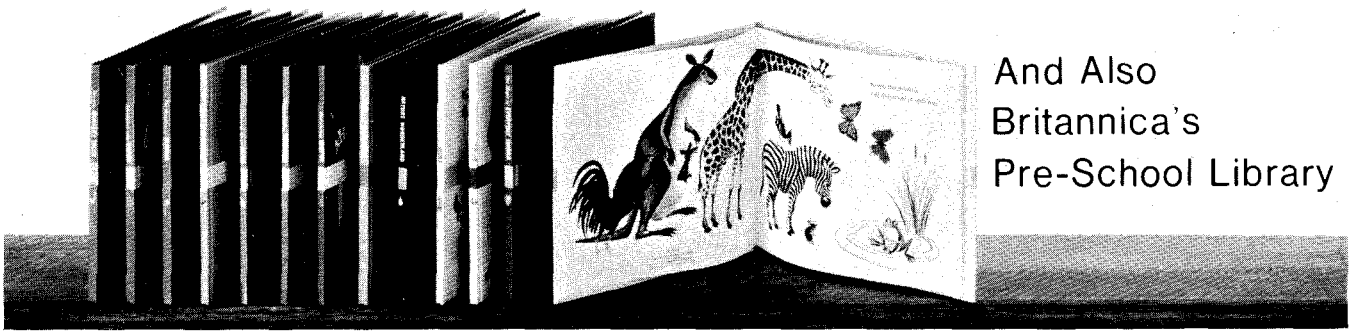

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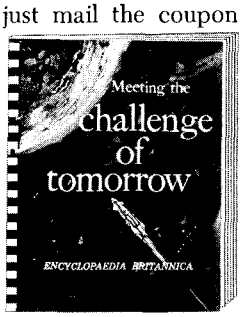

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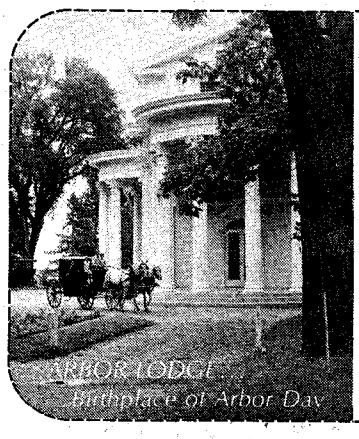

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from Washington
April 21, 1973

Contempt of Congress

President Nixon treats Congress with contempt which, it has to be admitted, is richly deserved. We have a lot of problems—the economy, the unfinished war, Watergate—but in the long run the biggest problem is whether Congress can be salvaged because if it can't, our peculiar 18th-century form of government, with separation of powers, can't be salvaged.

That might be a good or bad thing. If the alternative were a collectivized democracy of some sort, say like the Canadian parliamentary system, it might be a good thing. On the other hand if it continues the way it is going, into tightly controlled one-man rule, we think it would be a very bad thing.

Washington has been pushed that way for a long time, as much by Democrats as Republicans. What suddenly spotlights the thing is Mr. Nixon's personal approach; his quarrelsome, militant ways, and his appreciation that Congress is half sham. It hurt to have him patronize Congress and ridicule it but, in honesty, he is right. Impoundment, one-man war, reorganization of the Executive with all strings coming to the White House, downgrading the Cabinet, extension of executive privilege—these are unpleasant. But a vacuum has to be filled. The authority of Congress has decayed till it is overripe and rotten. Mr. Nixon has merely proclaimed it.

So we now face a test. If Congress flinches in reform then the change in our form of government (already half here) is ratified: we are in a new era. If Congress, on the other hand, really tries to pull itself together it is likely to be a tortured experience and may or may not succeed. To many it all seems sudden and stunning. But the decay of the legislature has been going on for half a century.

Except that Mr. Nixon is a disagreeable man, and that it is rather fun to take potshots at him, the problem here is not really partisan. It is true, by and large, that Mr. Nixon represents the conservative side of the big social problems and that Congress, by and large, represents the liberal side, or tends to. But this is accidental: if positions were reversed and Lyndon Johnson, say, faced a Republican Congress and asserted all sorts of dubious activist authority on grounds that Congress had forgotten how to function, the same issue would exist. The crisis is functional not ideological, though ideology heats it up. With Johnson President the GOP majority would also be trying to reform itself now and it would receive assistance, we think, from Democrats.

Can the 18th-century game plan of the Founding Fathers, of diffusing power and of checking and balancing, succeed in the 20th century? Today swiftness is vital in economic and diplomatic crises. Can the old system work? Mr. Nixon in effect says, "No." He is the real radical; he argues that he is merely ratifying the new era because Congress won't function. This is dubious; the only way to test his sincerity is to make Congress function.

The President has carried activism beyond anyone before him; downgrading the bureaucracy, the press conference, the Cabinet, the Congress and then going into seclusion, surrounded by a bodyguard of public relations men to make his scary, solitary decisions.

As this is written Washington senses the barometer dropping again; but which new course Mr. Nixon will activate, or reverse, nobody can guess.

Shortly after the Easter recess, which ends April 25, Watergate hearings start. We rather guess the administration could get slapped down, largely because it is up against an extraordinary adversary. Sam Ervin has been lying around loose in the Senate for 19 years attracting little attention. The fact is that he is the most extraordinary photogenic grits-and-magnolia character actor that US politics has produced in half a century, his favorite role being Sam Ervin. He is a cross between Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, the ineffable actor whom you remember from Illinois with tangled locks like Sargasso seaweed, and venerable-looking special army counsel Joe Welch, who on TV in the 1954 McCarthy-Roy Cohn hearings asked, "Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?" Welch stalked from the room while the audience applauded, and Joe McCarthy turned questioningly to his aides to ask, "What did I do?" He hadn't done anything. He was just ruined—exposed on TV by Joseph Welch.

Yes, Watergate could be a great show. But the point is that whoever wins it, it won't settle the deeper question. Trying to revive Congress without reforming it, won't work; the drift toward executive dominance will simply start again.

Congress incredibly lacks even a budget control mechanism. It has always meant to do something about control—and hasn't. Its committee system, its seniority system, its lack of even primitive computers for bookkeeping, is scandalous. America deserves better. And the possibility looms of a stalemate—Mr. Nixon frustrating Congress with vetoes it can't override, and Congress rejecting appointees, blocking appropriations and fouling up foreign policy in revenge.

Well, something can be done about it, and we guess it is the big story from Washington though it is terribly dull to watch and tell. (Anything constructive generally is dull, we notice.) A real effort is underway by a strong special Senate and House study committee to give Congress, after 200 years, a budget control mechanism. It would set an annual spending limit, with powerful committees in the House and the Senate to police it, and more important, a review process at the end of the year. If Congress overspent itself it would cut back on appropriations or, alternatively, institute new taxes to foot the bill.

Congress made spasmodic efforts at reform in 1946 and 1970. Both moves failed. Everyone knows the remedy—take monetary authority away from petty competing groups and give it to the two Appropriations Committees or some other centralized authority, capable of looking the Executive in the eye. It's either that now, or permanent subservience.

Sounds simple, eh? It is also revolutionary. And yet there are prominent, well-known middle-of-the road congressmen talking seriously about the biggest legislative reform that we know of. If it comes who will have produced it? Why, Mr. Nixon, to be sure. Congress is reluctantly saving its own life because he drove them to it.

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Contents

5-9 Comment
Nobody Getting Hurt but Asians; Man Overboard; Walk, Don't Run; Soviet Exit Visas
9 Amnesty Roulette—*H. Edward Sharp*
10 Maneuvering around Tariff Barriers —*Robert W. Dietsch*
11 The Nixon Watch: Trade-offs on Trade —*John Osborne*
13 There's Gold in Them There Pills —*Peter J. Ognibene*
15 Showdown at the Stockyard —*Hendrik S. Houthakker*
17 The GOP Money Scandal—*Walter Pincus*
22 Films—*Stanley Kauffmann*
23 Theater—*Robert Brustein*
23 Poem—*Philip Booth*
24 Books—A review by *Peter Caws*
28 Picasso—Two Comments
29 Reconsideration: *The House of Mirth* —*Doris Grumbach*
30 Correspondence

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Nobody Getting Hurt but Asians

Ought we to be impatient with the White House for not coming up with a legal, or plausible, justification for our continuing B-52 attacks on Cambodia? What need has the President to explain? As he reads it, the voters inserted no qualifying clause into the mandate they gave him last November. And the force of that mandate has since been enhanced by the President's extrication of the POWs and troops from Vietnam. Anyway, what could Mr. Nixon say? The authority to bomb Asians, once based on the Tonkin Gulf resolution, disappeared with that resolution's repeal by Congress. And then it turned out that the President never thought he needed the resolution. In wake of Mr. Nixon's "incursion" into Cambodia in 1970 to "scour" the "sanctuaries" and stabilize the regime in Pnompenh, the Congress, in authorizing $155 million for Cambodia, added the proviso that the aid "could not be construed as a defense commitment to Cambodia." But the President is not bombing Cambodia because of any asserted "commitment." He does not affirm we have one, in any legal sense. He affirms nothing. He denies nothing. He is commander-in-chief. He bombs because he hopes it will keep Cambodia from "falling" to "the enemy," and that if he can keep it from falling for a while, the Russians and Chinese may help him persuade the rebels (backed by North Vietnam) to lay down their arms and respect a cease-fire long enough to save face for Nixon. There are quite a few imponderables in that hope, and one major flaw. The flaw is that the anticipated result is not worth the price paid for it—not to the Cambodians and not to Americans. Whether a Lon Nol-type regime survives another year or two or three is a matter of monumental unimportance—unless we choose to make it important. The bombing, however, *is* important—obviously to the Cambodians, but also to that American honor this administration rhetorically celebrates while besmirching it.

Defense Department spokesmen have had little to say about the bombing, except that the raids were begun "at the request of the Cambodian government." It has little to report from the scene of the attacks, in part because the Thai bases from which US planes take off are semi-covert installations, and also because it has no bureaucracy stationed on the ground. Apparently the pilots can't really tell what they're bombing because there are no reliable reports coming

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back from Cambodia. What independent news reports there are agree that at peak activity the US is sending over about 60 B-52 flights and 140 to 150 fighter bomber flights each day, and the Pentagon says that only one plane has been lost since the Paris agreement was signed—a light, twin-engine spotting plane. What a lovely war; nobody, almost nobody, getting hurt but Asians.

Strong words have been spoken on the Senate floor and a cut-off resolution introduced by McGovern and another by Mondale. But a study prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Library of Congress and released last week notes that, "In view of the fact that the executive branch has generally taken the position that the President did not need congressional authorization to become involved in the Vietnam war, action by Congress terminating the war might be rejected by the President, who, if he were to continue to get appropriations, could resume the war." The President is not to be deterred, not so long as he commands one more vote than one-third of the votes on the Hill. Senator Kennedy did nobly on April 5, calling attention to the findings (pre-bombing) of his subcommittee study mission to North and South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, that at least a third of the population—some two million people—have fled the bombing and battle in Cambodia over the last three years. Refugees are "crowded by the tens of thousands in the provincial towns and refugee camps—often with no food and shelter"; there are some 260,000 orphans; the "war has so thoroughly disrupted agricultural production in Cambodia that this once rich rice-exporting nation must now import, with US assistance, over ¾ of all the rice consumed." Kennedy estimates that war damage totals over $2 billion, that "nearly 45 percent of the hospital facilities have been destroyed by bombing or artillery," over 40 percent of the roads "destroyed or damaged." He repeats what journalists have been reporting: "Corruption at the highest levels of government, chaos in the administration, and the bankruptcy of the country's leadership—these are the primary ingredients in the Cambodian crisis today."

We doubt if the President read or will reply to Senator Kennedy's remarks, busy as he is cleaning up a "lingering corner" of the war. What would be the point? He could not say that he is doing his duty by SEATO, for Cambodia does not belong to SEATO. Indeed the Cambodian government disclaimed any part in SEATO when Lon Nol came to power in March 1970. Nor could the President claim that Cambodia is an ally of Laos or Vietnam and thereby entitled to support from them or their friends. The Paris agreements say quite specifically that North and South Vietnam "shall not join any military alliance or military bloc," and it enjoins them to respect "the neutrality of Laos and Cambodia."

The Tonkin Gulf authority is nonexistent, as noted. Thus the President cannot legally on his own "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States . . . ," but the point is moot. There are no armed forces of the United States in Cambodia, only high above it. The President may not now say, as he did in 1970, that "with the approval of the Cambodian government," he is conducting "air interdiction missions against the enemy efforts to move supplies and personnel through Cambodia toward South Vietnam and reestablish base areas relevant to the war in Vietnam," and doing it "to protect our forces in Vietnam." He cannot even say we are bombing at the request of Thieu. Thieu said on national television April 8 that he felt his government could defend itself under present conditions even if Lon Nol were overthrown.

The most likely White House justification for renewed US intervention in Indochina is that the North Vietnamese have violated the Paris agreement by initiating a massive new offensive, thereby indirectly threatening the precarious, and indeed almost nonexistent, cease-fire in South Vietnam. But no news accounts of the fighting in Cambodia have cited any such offensive by North Vietnamese troops. They are there, to be sure, as they are in South Vietnam. Nothing in the Paris agreement requires them not to be in either country by any specified date.

As we said three weeks ago State Department lawyers are working away at some sort of legal underpinning for what the President is doing, without bothering to make a case. So far, however, the experts have come up with nothing convincing. We must make do with Defense Secretary Richardson's argument that "it would be very difficult" for the Cambodian government to survive without our air support, which is probably true. And what of it?

We return to the obvious: The President acts because he has the power to act, and there is no power in sight to gainsay him. Two presidential vetoes have been upheld in recent weeks; the White House is riding high. Moreover if Congress cannot today bolt the door to an American war in Asia any more than it could or would 10 years ago, that may be because Congress is truly a representative institution. Congressional mail on Cambodia is sparse. Now that the troops and the prisoners are back the public is untroubled by the lot of Asians who are being bombed. The campuses are quiet, the press on the whole uncritical. The bombing is being paid for, somehow, without anyone's asking the cost and without any specific congressional authorization. That is also true of the airlift of fuel to Pnompenh, which began last week. "I'm amazed," a Western diplomat in Cambodia is quoted as saying. "This is certainly going to get the US involved deeper and deeper, and it's up to its eyes now." It is a rare moment—a flummoxed Congress, a complaisant public opinion and a President making war and peace simultaneously.

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Man Overboard

The withdrawal of the nomination of L. Patrick Gray III to be director of the FBI represented the interplay of checks and balance between the executive and legislative branches. Gray was not qualified for the job, and the confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee proved that. But his rejection was also a triumph of the Senate over the President, and since such victories are rare it is worth notice.

In putting together the successful operation against the nominee, the Senate had things going for it that have not been present in other confrontations. There was the usual coalition of liberal, Democratic, anti-Gray senators, but they had with them a recognized leader—Majority Whip Robert Byrd—who had to be taken seriously by conservatives and fence straddlers of both parties. There also was a clear and simple choice—to confirm or not.

Through well-planned questioning of Gray over several days of committee hearings, the anti-Gray coalition was able to build broad understanding of what was at stake in his nomination. They were supported by the media, both print and television, whose main interest in the Watergate investigation led the senators to focus attention primarily on that newsworthy event. The extensive press coverage kept Gray before the public, which in turn influenced senators who had no direct connection with the hearings. For example Senate Majority Leader Mansfield, who originally said he was "inclined" to vote for Gray despite some early criticism of the man, had changed his view by the time the hearings ended. But since the hearings themselves had not been published, Mansfield had to be basing his new position on what he had read in the papers or seen on TV.

Also going for Gray's opponents was the fact that success required they do only one thing. There was no jockeying with the House, no worry about having to override a presidential veto. When the moment came, they had the votes and their victory—though unmistakable—was masked in gentlemanly Senate fashion by Gray's withdrawal before the vote was taken.

If one senator is said to have gained something from the affair, it has to be Byrd. He spoke out against Gray before the nomination was even submitted. Prior to the hearings, his staff assembled an exhaustive file, which Byrd himself studied. His questions reflected that preparation. He was sophisticated enough to understand that proving Gray's evasiveness and inconsistencies in his handling of the Watergate investigation was not enough. Gray's fallibility had to be dramatized to the public and to the senators. Byrd sought and finally found such an opportunity on the final, eighth day of the hearings. Answering Byrd's questions, Gray testified that on June 22 last year, White House counsel John Wesley Dean III told FBI agents he would have to check to see if E. Howard Hunt, Jr., one of the Watergate defendants, had an office in the White House. Byrd had already brought out from Gray that on June 19 Dean had ordered Hunt's safe removed from his White House office and drilled open. The inconsistency was apparent as the words came from Gray. It was immediately understood by the reporters present and by Byrd's colleagues. But it was not dramatic. At that point, Byrd suggested to Gray that Dean had, in effect, lied—a suggestion that Gray accepted, and by so doing packaged the event for television. Dean's "lie" to bureau agents, certified by acting FBI Director Gray, did more than anything else to torpedo the nomination within the White House and on Capitol Hill—and Byrd had fashioned it.

Byrd has since shown he knows how to take advantage of his position. He has quickly moved to set up a special Judiciary subcommittee to oversee the bureau and has introduced a bill to establish the FBI as an independent agency within the executive branch, removing it from the control and direction of the attorney general. The bill, Byrd has emphasized, is only a vehicle to permit the proposed subcommittee—which he would like to chair—to dig deeply into the operations of the bureau. With the bill introduced and the subcommittee idea launched, Byrd put himself in a position to request and receive—at the next confirmation hearing—a promise of full cooperation in re-

"Very touching. He went down saluting."

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viewing the FBI. Within less than two months, Byrd has set himself up as a major congressional figure in the affairs of the bureau. It is a performance to be appreciated, particularly by those who worry that Byrd aims to be majority leader of the Senate.

Apart from Byrd's ambitions, there remains the question of the FBI's future. Despite denials, it *is* our national police force. For 48 years it was run by a tyrant, sometimes in questionable directions. Now it is reeling from politicization, inept leadership, doubts about its competence. The next move apparently will be the President's. Has he learned from the Gray affair that what the bureau requires is a man of unassailable integrity, some independence by virtue of stature and organizational leadership? That can only be answered when he nominates a new director. Meanwhile the bureau will continue under Gray's acting directorship, which is no leadership at all. The longer the President delays naming a qualified new man, the more he compounds the bureau's current difficulties.

Walk, Don't Run

After the Congress in 1970 set clean air deadlines, the Japanese auto companies, they say, hired more engineers; Detroit's hired more lawyers. Both were successful. Honda's stratified-charge engine and Mazda's rotary, which are durable, fuel-efficient alternatives to the internal combustion engine, will easily meet Congress' 1975 standards for hydrocarbon and carbon monoxide emissions. Detroit's catalyst converters will have their first try-out in California in 1975, but last week they were given a year's grace everywhere else.

Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Ruckelshaus had decided to reverse his decision to deny the auto companies a delay in meeting the 1975 deadline, after a US Court of Appeals in Washington, DC told him he construed too narrowly the public interest standard Congress had established. In a second set of auto emission hearings, he confessed he was "not sure of all that I am authorized or required to consider in deciding what is in the public interest or not." Nor was anyone else. At least it can be said that Ruckelshaus agonized over the whole mess and tried to make his decision as openly as he could. It is hard to imagine anyone else in the administration telling a press conference that he had called the White House to insist "they" leave him alone.

In announcing the latest one-year reprieve for car manufacturers, Ruckelshaus was at pains to show that in the opinion of EPA, Detroit has the technological know-how to meet the standards now, with the catalyst converters. He did not accept California as a testing ground, as Detroit had proposed, for it will take months to evaluate tests of the converters in actual consumer use, long after Detroit has to tool up for the 1976 model year. To Ruckelshaus the standards are still the law for 1976, and he says he has neither the power nor the desire to suspend them. What disturbs him is the chance of a foul-up in catalyst delivery that might force a production shutdown next year. Though at first they denied it, auto executives now more or less admit they can certify cars to meet the clean air standards. What terrifies them is what might happen on the assembly line, where there are few guarantees of quality control.

Ruckelshaus wants to protect his own credibility as a tough law enforcer; on the other hand he is afraid to trigger a politically embarrassing plant shutdown, even one that lasts a week, or worse, a recall that might affect most of the 10 million cars Detroit produces each year. Some 28 percent of the nonfarm work force in the country draws its livelihood one way or another from the auto industry. Many in the White House and Congress have already insinuated Ruckelshaus is playing Russian roulette with the economy, and he himself seems to feel it is too big a risk for a public interest agency to run. Whatever the public interest is, it is tied up with a car-crazy public that says it is interested in clean air, but no one knows how much. Last week GM published a study that predicts a consumer backlash if the auto companies are pushed to the wall. It is one thing for EPA to get tough with Detroit, quite another to get tough with its public.

The public will probably not like Detroit's dual catalyst converters very much. The National Academy of Sciences has warned they are the wrong kind of technology for the auto companies to get into, as Dr. Philip Handler put it, "the most disadvantageous of all the possibilities with respect to cost, fuel economy, maintenance and durability." One purpose of the Clean Air Act amendments of 1970, the law which Mr. Ruckelshaus is charged to uphold, is to get Detroit to look at other possibilities. But as the General Accounting Office reported last summer, the companies are still committed to the internal combustion engine. At the last set of hearings Ruckelshaus tried to coax a pledge from the companies to look seriously at other technologies, but he got a brush-off. The machine tool industry testified that a complete changeover of engines in American cars would take 10 years.

What the auto companies expect to gain by the one-year delay they were granted last week was not clear until Chrysler came up with a full-page ad campaign a few weeks ago. Chrysler and Ford want to use the year not to work on catalyst technology but to work on repeal of the Clean Air amendments. It is ludicrous to say the auto companies are making "all good faith" efforts to meet the standards, which is what the law required Ruckelshaus to say as he granted the suspension.

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Soviet Exit Visas

When the President put forward his new international trade proposal, he said very little about a congressional movement to forbid granting of "most favored nation" status to any country that prevents free emigration of its citizens. He merely recognized "the deep concern which many in Congress have expressed over the tax levied on Soviet citizens wishing to emigrate to new countries," and he offered this gentle reprimand: "I do not believe that a policy of denying most favored nation treatment to Soviet exports is a proper or even an effective way of dealing with this problem."

This issue is loaded with emotion and political risk. While the case for free emigration is argued in terms of abstract justice, it actually springs from a specific group of people with a specific purpose in mind. The pressure behind the movement in Congress comes primarily from the American Jewish lobby which hopes that congressional action can persuade the Russians to do away with emigration taxes falling heavily on Russian Jews who try to emigrate to Israel. The matter has been taken up in the Senate by Henry Jackson (D, Wash.) and in the House by Rep. Charles Vanik (D, Ohio), with the backing of Rep. Wilbur Mills (D, Ark.). They have generalized the cause into an amendment to the trade bill forbidding favored nation treatment to "any non-market economy country which denies to its citizens the right to emigrate or which imposes more than nominal fees upon its citizens as a condition to emigration." They want the President to send semiannual reports to Congress, certifying that no nation receiving favored benefits denies its citizens the right to emigrate.

The cause, narrowly inspired as it may be, is nonetheless humanitarian. Once the issue is raised, who will stand up and say that discriminatory emigration taxes should be condoned? Who will say that of all the worthy causes we might champion in negotiating a Russian trade agreement, the right of Russian Jews freely to emigrate to Israel is not the most important? Although the trade bill was introduced only last week, the "freedom of emigration" amendment attached to it has already picked up 76 supporters in the Senate and 278 in the House, quite enough to make it law.

The happiest outcome would be for the Russians, noting the size of congressional support for the amendment and not wishing to jeopardize wider interests in detente, to avoid a confrontation simply by repealing the "education tax" levied on emigrating citizens. Instituted last August and published officially in January, the tax applies to all emigrants according to the level of education they have received, supposedly as a means of reimbursing the state for a lost investment. It's added to the standard emigration tax of about $1000, and in some cases runs as high as $30,000 or $37,000. In practice it falls heavily on Jews leaving for Israel, because they make up a large part of the emigrating population and because they're among the best educated. Possibly as a result of the American pressures, Russian authorities in recent weeks have begun to waive the requirements for those who cannot pay. Congress has plainly decided it will have this amendment. If Russia fails to take it seriously, the issue will become the major obstruction to signing a trade agreement.

Amnesty Roulette

"Those who deserted must pay their price," the President says, "and the price is not a junket in the Peace Corps or something like that." That is probably the consensus of his constituency and of the Congress. But what is the price to be exacted? That is to be left to the courts to decide. "The courts," says Senator Adlai Stevenson III, "are quite competent, the enforcement authorities are quite competent to consider the motivations of the individual. . . ."

Unfortunately for the returning draft evaders, what the courts decide will reflect each judge's personal belief. Some who have little compassion for those who deny service to country, will give the maximum sentence of five years in prison. More sympathetic judges will order alternate service in lieu of prison, or possibly, though unlikely, total amnesty. Some who never acquit may be the most lenient in sentencing. One district judge in Chicago gives lighter sentences to a defendant with a wife and family than to single men.

Besides the disparity of punishments in a given district there is also considerable difference between districts. Southern and southwestern district courts are generally harsher, while Northern districts tend to be more lenient. For example twice as many defendants in Kentucky have received maximum sentences as defendants who have been put on probation. Of the 16 men in the US who in one year received maximum sentences, one-fourth were from Kentucky. On the other hand only two men were given maximum sentences in California, and 408 got probation during the same period. In Senator Stevenson's own state, draft evaders in the Southern Illinois court have only a slight chance for leniency, while those in Northern Illinois have better than a 50-50 chance for probation and alternate service.

The senator's contention that the courts are "quite competent to take into account the reasons, the moral reasons, of an individual for refusing to obey the law" is not quite true. More articulate, educated young men, with a proper air of contrition, may persuade a court to leniency, while an awkward or poorly edu-

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cated violator who is unable to express himself in appropriate moral terms may get a harsher sentence. Yet each has committed the same transgression. The defendant pleading for leniency on moral grounds must hope his beliefs are consonant with the judge's. I have in mind one defendant who refused induction into the army because he placed a high value on life. The judge noted that he had subsequently attempted suicide, and concluded that if the defendant didn't value his own life he didn't value anyone else's either. Because another defendant had once worked in a factory that produced some war material, one federal judge concluded he had acquiesed in the war.

Not enough Canadian exiles have yet returned to discern a trend in the federal courts; thus the draft evasion cases of those who did not flee are our only guide. During the year ending in June of 1972, 1642 young men were convicted of refusing to submit for induction. All but 53 were put on probation. Of the 53 jailed 16 were given the maximum five-year sentence.

The point I raise is not whether expatriates should receive amnesty, alternate service or imprisonment, but rather whether all should not get the same consideration. There ought to be some legislative equity.

H. Edward Sharp

MR. SHARP *worked as a legal researcher on Selective Service cases in Chicago during the late 1960s.*

Maneuvering around Tariff Barriers

In the forthcoming debate on trade and tariffs, the issue to be decided is whether to give the President authority he asked for last week (see John Osborne's report, page 11) to negotiate a further reduction and even elimination of trade barriers—including tariffs—or whether to reverse the gears and go back to protectionism. Mr. Nixon is what might be called a free trader, but he also is a political realist and has to take into consideration growing protectionist sentiment on Capitol Hill and in labor circles. The alternative is to enact something like the now-celebrated Burke-Hartke bill that would restrict tax advantages of multinational corporations but more importantly would slap an array of mandatory import quotas on foreign goods. If such a bill became law, retaliation from abroad would be quick and hard.

In the last three decades tariffs around the world have been reduced substantially. Negotiations in the "Kennedy Round" of trade talks brought tariffs on industrial goods down to an average eight percent, and both the Americans and Europeans, and to a lesser extent the Japanese, have said they want further cuts. But even as tariffs were being reduced or eliminated, the use of nontariff barriers has increased: these encompass quotas, variable levies, import duties. In the United States we tend to charge that nontariff barriers have proliferated in the European Common Market countries and Japan, and to a great degree they have. But we have not been innocent. "Voluntary quotas" are being used more and more to keep out foreign goods. These technically do not violate rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and usually come into being because foreign exporters are practical enough to realize that if they don't restrict shipments to the US voluntarily, "mandatory quotas" will be enacted by Congress, often at the request of the White House. Today we have quotas on everything from oil and steel to textiles, dairy products, sugar and meat. The quota on meat, of course, has been suspended for a year in a bid to drive down food prices and oil quotas have been relaxed in light of our energy "crisis."

Congressional debate will basically be in two parts: the economic effects of multinational corporations and trade barriers themselves. We really know little about the multinationals, except that they are growing and have increasing economic clout. Multinational corporations have sales of about $450 billion a year, which is 15 percent of the gross world product. These sales have been going up at a rate of 10 percent a year, and Prof. Howard V. Perlmutter of the Wharton School of Finance thinks that by 1985 about 300 of the biggest multinationals will turn out more than half the world's goods and services. About 200 US corporations are regarded as truly multinational today, but almost 4000 others have at least one foreign subsidiary. But what we don't know is whether the multinationals are an economic blessing or curse. The AFL-CIO's research department claims that 900,000 jobs were lost from 1966-71 because of the overseas investments of American companies. The AFL-CIO would close two major tax credits enjoyed by the multinationals and impose a system of import quotas to offset foreign goods and thwart the multinational companies. The labor people complain about lower wage rates overseas; nevertheless this country has sold more overseas than it imported in 92 of the last 96 years.

Listen to any big company or the National Association of Manufacturers and you would believe the multinationals are a blessing. A recent NAM report says these companies created more than one million jobs at home over the last decade. All these claims are biased, and the statistics used are chosen to suit the protagonist. No impartial study of any worth has been made on the subject; the Commerce Department, supposedly a neutral party, once issued a report but its data were based on information gained voluntarily from a relatively few companies. Now Commerce has ordered a fresh study done by the Conference Board,

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a nonprofit organization headquartered in New York, which has a reputation for accuracy and impartiality. The study is to be completed sometime this summer, perhaps in time for the trade debate.

But thanks to at least two fresh economic studies, we are beginning to get an idea of the tremendous cost of trade quotas. One might assume that such quotas hurt other nations hardest; after all overseas companies lose sales and some foreign workers lose jobs because their firms can't sell all they might to the United States. But our quotas are surprisingly costly to Americans. One of the studies was issued by the Brookings Institution and done by Stephen Magee of the University of Chicago. The other was put out by the American Enterprise Institute and done by Ilse Mintz, formerly of Columbia University. In general the two studies point out that quotas cost Americans dearly because they must buy higher-priced US goods instead of the cheaper foreign goods kept out of the country, and because some percentage of national expenditures must go into producing the higher-priced goods instead of a different type of more inexpensive goods we would make were imports allowed to come into the country without limit. Magee estimated that the cost to the American economy of all existing tariffs and quotas (US and foreign) totals between $7.5 billion and $10.5 billion a year. He thinks that cost would ultimately be doubled if Burke-Hartke were to pass. He also thinks that US import barriers alone cost Americans between $3 billion and $5 billion a year. Mintz estimated that the total cost to Americans from oil quotas alone is "about $5 billion annually, or 40 percent of the annual value of oil production at home." The study also says "the total user cost of US sugar quotas is figured at 32 percent to 39 percent of the total US expenditure on sugar, or $580 million to $700 million a year." Mintz estimated that the total annual cost of textile quotas amounts to $2.5 billion to $4.8 billion, based on the "cautious assumption" that import quotas raise textile prices by a mere 5 percent to 10 percent.

Trade has become such a hot political issue because of the trade deficits of the last two years, especially the record $6.4 billion red-ink figure of 1972. No doubt trade barriers in the Common Market and Japan have handicapped US exports, and domestic inflation has made American goods all the more expensive overseas. Sometimes we hear that the American worker no longer has pride in his work and commands too high an income compared with his fellows abroad. If it is true, as Professor C. P. Kindleberger of MIT wrote in *The New York Times*, that there has been "a slowing down of American economic vitality and elan," is this slowdown limited to the working class? Has it not also spread to the managerial class? Again we have only tangential evidence, but if recent consumer demand is any indication, foreigners are sending us a variety of products better designed and more repair free than we get from our own companies. This is more or less true of everything from women's shoes and bicycles to manual typewriters and autos. The group that has saved the American trade balance from plunging even deeper in the red has not been the supposedly super-efficient industrialist but the much maligned farmer.

Then there's this question: how interested is American business in selling abroad? Consider the international bidding on a $500 million steel expansion project in Brazil. To date only one American firm has won a contract, and that for a mere $1.1 million. Meanwhile Japanese firms have won $105 million in work and West Germans $46 million. Nathaniel McKitterick, a former World Bank official and now a private consultant, says that when it comes to the Brazilian contracts the foreigners are just trying harder. He says the Japanese have gone to great lengths to master the high-stakes art of international bidding, often paying more attention than Americans to monetary fluctuations, being more aware of their competitors' capabilities and having finer technical expertise. The American steel industry has never been noted for its aggressive selling overseas; at home it is now shielded by a voluntary quota system.

Mr. Nixon and his economic advisers, while giving pep talks on hard work, might direct this suggestion to managers as well as their workers. In the meantime the trade debate looms and so far the President has stuck to the "free trade" side. So has Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee, where trade legislation must originate. It will be tough going, and Mr. Nixon no doubt will have to put his prestige on the line somewhere down the road. In the past he's started out gung ho on an important issue (welfare reform, for one), only to back away. On trade he can't afford to.

Robert W. Dietsch

The Nixon Watch

Trade-offs for Trade

The President postponed to the very last any close and active participation in the preparation of the foreign trade message and legislation that he sent to Congress on April 10. He left to his advisers, and there were plenty of them, the spadework on the message, his voluminous Trade Reform Act of 1973, and supporting proposals to remove antitrust restrictions on collaborating bidders for foreign business and to retain, while slightly reducing, the tax breaks given American companies that invest in and operate foreign subsidiaries. His designated formulators and kibitzers included George Shultz, acting in his dual capacities as secre-

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tary of the Treasury and assistant to the President in charge of overall economic policy; Peter Flanigan, the executive director of the President's Council on International Economic Policy; John D. Ehrlichman, the assistant for domestic affairs; Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; Chairman Arthur Burns of the Federal Reserve Board; and William Pearce, deputy special representative for foreign trade negotiation. They had for guidance the President's many statements of foreign trade policy, beginning with his pledge to work for "an open world" in his 1969 inaugural address and, in subsequent actions and expressions over the next four years, weighted toward a fundamentally protectionist position. They assumed that Mr. Nixon would want the legislation and especially the message, in which he would be setting forth his own philosophy and trying to satisfy both the extreme protectionists and the advocates of what used to be and no longer is called "free trade," weighted in the same direction.

When Mr. Nixon finally gave personal attention to the message, in the last days and hours before it was submitted to Congress and published, his advisers and the White House writers who had put an initial draft together for him got an interesting surprise. The President removed many references to his past moves to protect American textile, steel, oil and other interests in competition with foreign producers and strengthened the emphasis upon his professed desire for "a more open and equitable world trading system" and upon his view that "we must resist the impulse to turn inward." A pronounced protectionist tone remained, but the net effect of the President's changes was to place the philosophical thrust on what he and his assistants prefer to style "open trade" and "balanced trade" rather than "free trade" that never has been and probably never can be genuinely and wholly "free." One of Mr. Nixon's interventions was a crashing bust. He had his writers extract from the message and condense a passage that he prerecorded for national television. Mr. Nixon usually puts enough substance into such blurbs to give them at least a semblance of news and enable the networks to carry them without seeming to kowtow in utter abjection to the presidential will. The 63 words he taped in 35 seconds were all blurb and no substance ("The trade bill . . . can mean more jobs and better jobs for American workmen . . . help American consumers . . . help us expand our trade . . . reduce international tensions.") and the news executives of all three television networks rebelled. The foreign trade blurb got some scattered radio use but the filmed version didn't appear on any of the evening news shows at which it was aimed.

Secretary Shultz and Peter Flanigan got more notice and publicity with a White House briefing for the media than the President did. In one of their exchanges between themselves and with reporters, they also dramatized the delicate play of contending forces that will determine the fate of the Nixon proposals in Congress. A reporter set off the exchange when he asked Shultz whether he would agree that the President was seeking "new and unprecedented authorities" to determine and administer national trade policy. Inasmuch as Mr. Nixon had said in his message that he was asking Congress "to delegate significant new negotiating authorities to the executive branch," Shultz and Flanigan should have had no difficulty in answering the question. But they did. When Shultz agreed with the reporter that "the President would be given authority that he had not been given before," Peter Flanigan was seen to flinch. Obviously with congressional resistance to any increase in the President's power in mind, Flanigan stepped to the microphones and said he wouldn't dream of contradicting Secretary Shultz. Then he did, arguing that speaking of "new and unprecedented authorities" is "overstating the case" and that "while these are expansions of existing authority, they aren't radically new departures from past practice." Shultz took the contradiction in pensive silence, with the look of a man who has acknowledged the truth and recognizes a necessary and tactical correction when he hears it.

Mr. Nixon's statement and definition of the new authorities he was seeking were perfect examples of the trade-offs for trade that studded his message and legislation. For instance, he requested authority limited only in time (five years) to "eliminate, reduce or increase customs duties" in the course of conducting the kind of trade negotiations that are coming up next fall on a worldwide scale. As a gesture toward the many senators and congressmen who will balk at so broad a grant of unrestricted presidential power, he invited Congress "to set up whatever mechanism it deems best for closer consultation and cooperation" with him while such negotiations are going on. He moderated his request for broadened power to impose, remove or change such nontariff barriers as quantitative quotas for imports in return for or retaliation against similar trade actions by other governments with an offer of limited though substantial congressional oversight. He would give interested congressional committees 90 days notice of intended nontariff changes and, after they were agreed and decided upon, another 90 days in which either the House or Senate could veto any change by majority vote. As it is now Congress must amend existing law before negotiated agreements on nontariff changes can take effect.

Similar trade-offs were proposed in such sensitive areas as American investment in foreign enterprises and the taxation of profits earned abroad by American subsidiaries. A protectionist bill sponsored by Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana would abolish the present deferral of US taxes upon the profits of American sub-

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sidiaries until the money is brought home and also end the deduction of taxes paid by subsidiaries to foreign governments from the taxable income of the owning American companies. Aware though he is of formidable support for the Hartke proposals, Mr. Nixon argued that the present policy of encouraging American investment and production abroad "is still fundamentally sound" and offered only modest concessions to the industrialists and labor leaders who regard the consequences as threats to American producers and workers. The President would subject the profits of American subsidiaries to immediate US taxation only if more than 25 percent of their output is exported for sale in US markets or if they have been demonstrably established in order to escape US taxes and take advantage of excessive foreign tax inducements.

The President sought to attract the support of organized labor for his proposals with recommendations that he at once be given more flexible power to compensate workers displaced from jobs as a result of foreign competition in home markets and to impose either higher tariffs or quotas upon imports that clearly disrupt the home market. In essence, a simple declaration without the elaborate supporting proof now required that competitive imports in fact damage home industries or cause loss of home jobs would be sufficient to authorize the imposition of protective restraints. Displaced workers would (he promised) find it easier to apply for and get unemployment compensation, qualify for federally financed retraining for other jobs, and even get federal money to pay the expenses of moving from one job to another. In the main, however, the President proposed to shift from arrangements designed only for workers displaced by foreign competition to generalized arrangements that would assist and protect workers who lose jobs for any reason. He argued, for example, that his forthcoming "comprehensive pension reform legislation," requiring that a worker's pension rights be transferrable from one job and employer to another, would benefit the victims of foreign competition along with everybody else and should therefore diminish the demand of organized labor for more protective restraints than he is inclined to request or impose.

The message, the legislation and the explanatory White House briefings were parts of an impressive balancing act in behalf of the Nixon vision of "balanced trade." George Shultz, echoing the President's plea for the power and freedom he thinks necessary to deal with the country's trading competitors and adversaries, stated the administration's view with force and clarity when he said: "We must be in a position to drive for more open trade but also drive for trade conditions that are fair for the American working man and for the American businessman." Something for everybody, in short, and certainly something for the American businessman.

John Osborne

There's Gold in Them There Pills

by Peter J. Ognibene

The scene has become familiar. A new and dangerous pattern of abuse with a legally manufactured drug is belatedly discovered by the government. Congress threatens to control it. The pharmaceutical houses that are making a bundle from the drug's popularity oppose the bill. The Food and Drug Administration, the regulatory agency of the drug firms but sometimes their protector, goes to capitol hill, pleads for more time to study the problem and promises to take appropriate action later. Meanwhile casualties of the drug climb.

We have seen it happen with amphetamines and barbiturates. This time it is methaqualone, a sedative-hypnotic often prescribed for insomnia. Its effects are similar to those of barbiturate and so are its dangers. A few pills make one drunk; higher doses can result in unconsciousness, coma or even death. The few pills that would otherwise have caused a "high" can become a knockout, possibly fatal, dose when taken with liquor.

Drug firms have been building a safe image for methaqualone in their advertising, much of it in medical publications. These ads have led many people to believe the drug is a nonaddictive "downer" when in

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fact it is every bit as dangerous as barbiturate. Senator Birch Bayh (D, Ind.), chairman of the Senate juvenile delinquency subcommittee calls methaqualone "the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde drug, seemingly safe while actually deadly."

According to a *New York Times* survey of colleges in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut published last November, methaqualone is fast becoming one of the most popular drugs on campus whereas "heroin has virtually disappeared." In a joint statement, Dr. George R. Gay and Darryl S. Inaba of the Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic in San Francisco told Bayh's subcommittee: "In January of 1973 a short survey of patients seen at the Drug Detox [detoxification] Project revealed that 15 percent reported a past moderate to heavy abuse of methaqualone, 20 percent had tried it 'a few times' and 65 percent had never tried it. The survey also clearly revealed that the use of methaqualone in this population was quite recent in origin, with 57 percent first using [it] between January to December of 1972, and only 8.5 percent using [it] before 1971." Methaqualone abuse could soon become epidemic.

Gay and Inaba also told the subcommittee that "almost all patients interviewed who have become abusers of methaqualone have been first introduced to the drug either by legal prescription or by the procurement from someone who has had 'legal' access to the drug." Former abusers of methaqualone told the subcommittee they bought the drug from individuals who cultivated drug warehouse employees who would steal the drug, particularly capsules that had been imperfectly manufactured and were being returned for reprocessing. In Detroit some 600,000 methaqualone tablets were "diverted" from a Parke-Davis warehouse during 10 days in November. Because the drug does not fall under the Controlled Substances Act of 1970, the drug firms are not obliged to have tight security and recordkeeping controls as they would if the drug were classified under Schedule II of the act. The ready availability of methaqualone on the streets and in the schools has little to do with clandestine laboratories: it stems from the absence of federal controls on prescriptions, production and security. In spite of its unquestioned potential for abuse, methaqualone is not listed in any of the schedules of the Controlled Substances Act. Some of the drug's manufacturers apparently hope to keep it that way.

The acting commissioner of FDA, Sherwin Gardner, told the Bayh subcommittee: "Prescription data for the leading methaqualone products show an increase from about one-half million in 1968 to about four million in 1972. In 1972 there were approximately 111 million 300mg. dose equivalents of methaqualone dispensed by prescription in pharmacies and approximately 185 million dosage units distributed by all manufacturers." One of them, "Quaalude," is now "the sixth most popular sedative-hypnotic in the United States," said Gay and Inaba, and "in 1972 Quaalude sales alone increased 360 percent." Produced at a cost of less than four cents per 150mg. tablet, methaqualone has fast become a big money-maker.

Bayh requested representatives of the pharmaceutical houses to appear before the subcommittee. Two refused. (More on that later.) Parke-Davis, which makes Parest, sent one of its vice presidents, Leslie M. Lueck, who told the subcommittee that "the company is of the strong opinion that this drug must be controlled under the Controlled Substances Act of 1970." But Parke-Davis is opposed to the Schedule II classification in the Bayh bill (S1252). "The drugs now on Schedule II are potentially dangerous and addictive at their normal recommended dosage levels," said Lueck. "Such is not the case with methaqualone at recommended dosage levels." The evidence contradicts these assertions.

Although all the drugs on Schedule II are "potentially dangerous," not all are addictive at "normal recommended dosage levels." For example amphetamine is not addictive at the low dosage levels prescribed by physicians; very high, sustained dosage levels are required for addiction to occur. While methaqualone may also not be addictive when taken as directed for insomnia, addiction has been reported by the University of Michigan Hospital at dosage levels as low as 1.2 grams a day or four 300mg. tablets. If amphetamines had been taken only as directed by physicians, there of course would have been no abuse of the drug. It was the *potential* for abuse, high production levels (eight billion amphetamines a year) and the absence of security requirements that led to the drug becoming so popular with housewives as well as "speed freaks." The growing popularity of methaqualone, its rapidly increasing production levels and its great potential for abuse have created a situation nearly identical to that of amphetamine several years ago. If speed belongs under Schedule II of the Controlled Substances Act, so does methaqualone.

The two drug company presidents who refused to appear before the Bayh subcommittee were J. W. Eckman of William H. Rorer, Inc., the maker of Quaalude, and Robert E. Parcell of Arnar-Stone, the maker of Sopor. (The "street names" most often used for methaqualone are quaalude and sopor.) Bayh called their refusal the worst example of noncooperation he had seen in 11 years in the Senate. With the unanimous support of the subcommittee, he issued subpoenas for the two men to appear before the subcommittee on April 6. Predictably, Eckman and the Arnar-Stone vice president who represented Parcell recommended against Schedule II; the latter suggested Schedule III: the same set of ineffective controls that made it possible for amphetamine production to boom to eight billion doses a year.

Last November the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs amassed a persuasive case for putting the

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nine short-acting barbiturates under Schedule II and sent it to FDA for its concurrence. In February BNDD recommended methaqualone be put under Schedule II. Apparently prodded by the Bayh subcommittee, FDA on April 5 concurred with BNDD's recommendation. If the attorney general accepts these recommendations, he can place the drug on Schedule II. Since amphetamine has been under Schedule II, production quotas have been cut 90 percent, and early this month the government began making what a BNDD spokesman called "the largest recall of controlled substances ever made" and ordered the recall and destruction of all injectable amphetamines and diet pills that contain the drug. Unfortunately it seems to take a drug epidemic and a large number of deaths or injuries before the government will get tough with the drug manufacturers and use the law to protect the public from legally manufactured drugs that are being abused.

While Senator Bayh was opening his hearings, the White House was releasing the President's message on drug abuse. One phrase stood out: "This administration has declared all-out, global war on the drug menace." But while the President mentioned by name heroin, cocaine and marijuana, which for the most part are smuggled into the US by criminals, nothing was said about drugs such as amphetamine, barbiturate and methaqualone, most of which originate in America's great pharmaceutical houses. Was this simply an oversight?

Abuse of methaqualone is dramatically on the rise, but if the administration will take the advice of its own Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and put the drug under the strict controls of Schedule II, its destructive impact could be appreciably lessened. Some of the drug manufacturers doubtless will oppose such a move because of its impact on the tremendous profitability of methaqualone. Whether they can persuade the President to accept a conditional surrender in his "all-out global war on the drug menace" remains to be seen.

The Meat Price Spiral

Showdown at the Stockyard

by Hendrik S. Houthakker

The nationwide boycott that erupted as a result of public discontent over steadily rising meat prices appears to have had some tactical success, but its longer-range effects are less apparent. The mere threat of a boycott was enough to force the administration into yet another departure from its free market proclivities. By freezing the price of beef, pork and lamb at the retail level while leaving farm prices uncontrolled, a new wrinkle has been introduced into the control program. The freeze appears to be intended as a holding operation until the expected appearance of larger supplies in the fall; in fact, since livestock prices in the last few days before the freeze had retreated somewhat from their peaks, it can be argued that the freeze is mostly cosmetic. Consumer spokesmen generally condemned it as being insufficient, while farm leaders muttered darkly about drying up the supply and thus raising meat prices even further in the future.

The effect of the freeze on retail meat prices is likely to be small. A temporary freeze will not accelerate the decline in meat prices that was underway in any case, nor will it lead to higher prices in the future. The widespread support for controls among the public at-large is apparently based on a belief that most prices are fixed arbitrarily by giant corporations whose greed can only be kept in check by government action. But there are very few industries where this picture has any resemblance to the truth, and livestock is certainly not one of them. Livestock is produced on hundreds of thousands of farms, the vast majority operated by a single family. We hear a great deal about corporate farms, but their share in the production of meat animals is minute. Meat packing and retailing are also highly competitive. Livestock prices are high not because they are manipulated by unscrupulous operators, but because the supply has not kept up with the increase in demand. For the last two years consumers'

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incomes have risen sharply, and this has led to a brisk demand for meat. The supply has fallen behind because there was not enough feed grain. It is true that some years ago the cattlemen's association advised its members to cut back livestock production with a view to obtaining higher prices, but this advice does not seem to have been repeated recently. Generally speaking, individual farmers have no more control over livestock prices than individual consumers.

The key to high meat prices is in the supply of feed grains. When they are in ample supply, farmers turn them into livestock, which is virtually the only use to which they can be put. If feed grains are short, their prices will be high and farmers are forced to reduce livestock production. The present period of rising meat prices has its origin in the corn blight of 1970, which prevented meat supplies from keeping pace with rising demand. Unwise government policies aimed at avoiding so-called overproduction did the rest.

Ever since the Kennedy administration it has been official policy to keep farm prices high by paying farmers for not producing as much as they could. Under the farm bill of 1970 this has been done through the "set-aside," which gives payments to farmers on condition that they do not plant a part of their acreage. Initially intended to reduce the huge surpluses which had accumulated in the early 1960s, this expensive policy continued after the surpluses had disappeared. Contrary to what is still widely believed, we have not had any surplus stocks for some years. Indeed the inventories remaining in private and government hands are too small to tide us over an emergency such as a repetition of the corn blight or unusual export demand due to crop failures abroad. It is therefore clearly in our national interest to expand farm output, both to keep retail prices in check and to build up more adequate inventories.

But like generals who are forever fighting the last war, the politicians in the Agriculture Department and in Congress who run our farm program are still anxious to reduce farm production whenever they can. As recently as the fall of 1972, when the handwriting was on the wall, Secretary Butz announced wheat and feed grain programs that would virtually guarantee further inflation in food prices. These programs were later liberalized by the Cost of Living Council, but by then some of the damage had been done. The fact is that among farm politicians "consumer" is a dirty word. If these politicians ever address themselves to consumers, it is only to communicate irrelevancies, such as that the average consumer spends 16 percent of his income on food, or that the average farmer feeds 23 people.

If farmers were still in a state of depression, great solicitude would be justified, but this is far from being the case. Net income per farm, even after allowing for inflation, rose by 11 percent from 1971 to 1972. The total income of the farm population, including income from nonfarm sources, rose from $29.5 billion to $33.2 billion between those two years and is still in a strong uptrend. The gap between the average income of farmers and nonfarmers has been narrowed considerably in recent years; the income ratio was 83 percent in 1972 and may soon reach 100 percent. No doubt there are still many poor farmers, just as there are many poor nonfarmers, but it has long been recognized that the existing farm programs do little or nothing to alleviate rural poverty. At the same time there are now also many farmers who are doing extremely well, with family incomes considerably exceeding those of small businessmen elsewhere in the economy. Moreover the income statistics do not include the huge capital gains on farm land that accrue each year to their owners—about $15 billion according to the most recent data. This improvement in the financial position of farmers is all to the good, but it takes away most of the arguments for special treatment of agriculture.

The farm bill of 1970 expires this year, so there is an opportunity to adjust the legislation to contemporary conditions. The principle of paying farmers for not producing should be scrapped forthwith, although the government may still need some authority to prevent excessive price movements in either direction by stabilizing inventories. Income support to farmers should be confined to those below the poverty level. The budget of the Agriculture Department, now estimated at over $10 billion for fiscal 1974 and nearly $12 billion for fiscal 1975, should be cut at least in half. It will not be easy to enact such improvements, for the agricultural committees of Congress, through which all legislation has to pass, are firmly wedded to the obsolete approach. Fortunately the meat boycott is evidence that consumers are at last beginning to get aroused.

A change will also have important benefits for the environment. Since our present programs to curtail farm production operate by reducing acreage, they have encouraged farmers to get the most out of the available land by using more fertilizer, insecticides and pesticides. Since not all these chemicals can be absorbed by plants, much of it runs off into public streams, where it is an important source of pollution. If farmers could use more land, they would not need so many chemicals and our waters would be cleaner.

While most of the current attention focuses on livestock this is by no means the only problem. Wholesale prices of fruits and vegetables, for instance, have risen about as much as wholesale prices of livestock during the last year (about 20 percent in both cases). Fruits and vegetables have gone up for a number of reasons, including higher wages paid to farm workers. But another reason is the existence of federal marketing orders, which in effect establish government-sponsored cartels for a number of important products. Under these schemes growers can destroy some of

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their output in order to keep prices high. These cartels are often operated through farmer cooperatives, which are exempt from the antitrust laws, and sometimes engage in highly anti-competitive practices. Consumers have no influence on the decisions of these cartels, which are badly in need of supervision by less biased bodies than the Agriculture Department.

Even if the necessary improvements are made this year, it will take some time before the effects on the price level materialize. In the meantime the meat price freeze is the principal government control over the level of food prices. The idea behind this freeze, which does not affect farm prices directly, appears to be that meat packers will be restrained in bidding for the available livestock. With a ceiling on retail prices, livestock buyers cannot bid more than the equivalent retail price minus the cost of processing and distribution. Since prices at the stockyard remain uncontrolled, there is no need to determine which farmers will sell to which meat packers, as would be necessary if farm prices were also brought under control. Nevertheless this arrangement does nothing to increase meat supplies, and therefore does not attack the root problem. Fortunately livestock supplies appear to be increasing. The hog-corn ratio, which determines the profitability of pork production, is now at an exceptionally high level. Beef production is also extremely profitable. There is consequently a good prospect that meat prices will come down later in the year in response to normal market forces.

The principal danger in the price freeze is that retailers, anxious to stock their meat counters but unable to charge more than the ceiling price, will take a loss on their meat operations and charge more for other groceries, thus raising food prices generally. It is also possible that some of the unsatisfied demand for meat will spill over into such uncontrolled products as fish, poultry, eggs and cheese. The meat price freeze is therefore no more than a temporizing device. Its economic impact will be limited, and the main benefit could be political, namely greater pressure for better farm programs.

Perhaps the only humorous aspect of the meat boycott was a remark made by one of its leaders, an earnest Chicago housewife who called for a five-year government plan for agriculture. A quick look at the agricultural situation in the Soviet Union should show her what five-year plans actually achieve. What we need is not more government intervention, but to leave farmers free to produce as much as they can.

Maurice Stans and Company

The GOP Money Scandal

by Walter Pincus

Some $50 million or more, perhaps the largest presidential campaign kitty ever recorded, was raised from the spring of 1971 through the end of 1972 on behalf of President Nixon's reelection. Much of it was solicited from March 1971 to April 7, 1972—a period that afforded secrecy from public disclosure, since the new campaign fund reporting law was not then in effect. In order to help hide the funds and spread the contributions out to avoid paying a gift tax (by dividing each big donation into $3000 units), Nixon fund-raisers set up more than 450 separate conduit committees within the District of Columbia. (As an ironic footnote, in August 1972 GOP Chairman Robert Dole sought a General Accounting Office investigation of McGovern funds on the ground that a contribution from *Playboy's* Hugh Hefner had been divided up to avoid paying the gift tax.) There was so much money and so much activity that, according to the Nixon campaign treasurer Hugh Sloan, Jr., "I think we probably used just about every bank in Washington." He amended that to say they "avoided one bank in town that is totally Democratically controlled." Some of the money—still undisclosed—today may still be in banks or someone's safe.

Large amounts of the pre-April 7 funds came from companies and individuals with government problems. A few have been publicized. The $200,000 in cash from Robert Vesco, whose Investors Overseas Services was in trouble with the Securities and Exchange Commission, came in early April. Four Mexican checks totaling $89,000 plus another $11,000 in cash came from Gulf Resources and Development Corp., a Texas company with environment problems. Dwayne

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Andreas, a nominal Humphrey supporter who was seeking a new bank charter, came in with $25,000 though his check originally turned up in the name of a GOP fund-raiser, Kenneth Dahlberg.

The covert fund-raising was directed by the President's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, from March 1971 until February 1972. It was then taken over by Maurice Stans, a Nixon crony and former secretary of Commerce. From the opening of the reelection committee office in early March 1971, responsibility for receipts and disbursement of funds was entrusted to Sloan, a young Princeton graduate who had performed a similar task in the 1968 campaign. In the intervening years Sloan had worked in the White House alongside Dwight Chapin, handling presidential scheduling and appointments under the overall direction of H. R. Haldeman.

Cash—perhaps $1 million or more—was stashed away in three Washington banks or stored in the safes of either Stans or Sloan. Records for the pre-April 7 period are still secret and are now tied up in several lawsuits. Records of cash transactions—money that came in and funds disbursed—are said to have been destroyed. But there is enough conflicting testimony to indicate that some information has survived. Court records abound with stories of $1000 packets of $100 bills handed out to campaign spies, burglars, bugging experts, saboteurs, criminal lawyers and perhaps—after their capture in the Watergate break-in—to those arrested and convicted, in an effort to buy their silence. The passing of money since April 7 has occurred without public reporting as required by campaign laws. Pre-April 7 activities, including the destruction of records, went on in apparent disregard of tax laws applying to individual recipients and tax informational reporting requirements applicable to employers, among which were the President's reelection committee and its 1971 antecedents. Cash money may *still* be coming in to support a coverup of the espionage. As the Ervin Select Senate Committee investigation and hearings proceed, it may turn out that money is the cement that locks the White House and the reelection committee tighter and tighter to what promises to be the most fully exposed—and perhaps most sordid—presidential campaign operation in history.

Money has already provided one surprise embarrassment to the Nixon organization. After the five burglars were caught inside Democratic national headquarters at the Watergate, the Republicans' connection with one of the men, James McCord, was hastily severed. Though McCord was security chief for the Nixon organization, he was pictured by campaign chairman John Mitchell as acting either on his own or for other clients—a statement then known by the Nixon people to be inaccurate. When E. Howard Hunt, Jr., a White House consultant, was linked by the press to presidential aides, he was hastily described as having been terminated more than two months earlier. That was misleading.

The FBI discovered within a week of the June 17 break-in that checks sent to the Nixon reelection committee—specifically the "Mexican" $89,000 and the Dahlberg $25,000—had been cashed through the Miami bank account of one of the captured burglars. To add to the embarrassment, some $3000 of the $100 bills found on the burglars when they were arrested was part of the same cash funds. That discovery prevented the Republicans from ever disowning direct linkage with the arrested men and their mission.

It was not until late August that the Nixon committee came up with a story to explain the August 1 news "leak" that the $25,000 Dahlberg check went through Watergate burglar Barker's Miami bank account. A Nixon committee spokesman denied that this money had helped finance the break-in and alleged bugging. Dahlberg announced he hadn't "the vaguest idea" how it happened. Stans' secretary reported that her boss was "not granting any interviews and feels that when all the facts are known all the hoopla will die down with respect to him." But on August 26, the General Accounting Office released the results of *its* investigation into the matter. It found, without using subpoenas and without sworn statements, that according to Stans and Sloan both the Dahlberg and the Mexican checks were first given to G. Gordon Liddy, then counsel to the reelection finance committee—the Mexican checks because Sloan was "unsure of their negotiability," the Dahlberg check because it "represented a pre-April 7 contribution and [should] be reconverted to cash." Five months later, Sloan told a new story at the Watergate trial: both checks were converted to cash because "the conversion to cash was an administrative method of breaking these checks down into elements that would fall beneath the contributing limit."

Both to the GAO and at the trial, the official story was that the funds were passed along to Barker through Liddy because, as Sloan told the court, "[Liddy] indicated to me that he had some friends around the country that he would pass these [checks] to them and that would be done and he would return the cash."

There are several unanswered questions in *that* tale. One sticks out. Sloan testified at the Watergate trial that the money Liddy returned to Sloan, some $114,000, was "to the best of my recollection $100 bills." Every other statement referring to the checks cashed by Barker at the Republic National Bank indicates that only $10,000, or perhaps slightly more, was in $100 bills. Watergate prosecutor Silbert, when he first brought up the existence of the check-cashing on June 23, in the bail hearing for Barker, declared according to news accounts that "Mr. Barker drew out $89,000 in cash; $10,000 was in $100 bills." Extore Reynoldo, vice president of the Miami bank, testified at the trial that "$10,000 or more," but not all of the $114,000, was

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in $100 bills. In a subsequent telephone interview, Reynoldo said most of the money was paid to Barker in $50 and $20 bills. Thus, unless he went to some other bank, Liddy could not have returned Sloan $100 bills, at least not from those checks.

Why the emphasis on these checks and a difficult-to-believe story of check cashing?

The checks that were deposited in Barker's Miami account were "hot" and potentially illegal. The Mexican checks originated from the Gulf Resources and Development Corporation account in the First City National Bank of Houston, Texas—from which funds were transferred by telephone to an account in the Banco Internacional, Mexico City, maintained by an inactive subsidiary of the same Houston corporation. Checks on that account were made out to a Mexican lawyer who returned them to the United States for shipment to the Nixon reelection organization. It is illegal for corporations to contribute their own funds to a presidential candidate.

The Dahlberg check was dated April 10—three days after the reporting deadline. It came from Dwayne Andreas, a Humphrey supporter, thus posing two disclosure problems. Turning all five checks into cash and using that cash for activities that would not be reported seemed the logical solution.

In the first week of April, with the disclosure deadline close at hand, three top Nixon reelection officials met to decide which projects would be "pre-paid," thereby effectively shielding them from later public scrutiny. According to court records, "around April 1, Mr. Stans, Mr. Sloan and Jeb Magruder [the acting campaign director] caused the transfer of about a million dollars just prior to April 7 through the payment of what you call obligations." Magruder and Sloan both testified at the Watergate trial that at the same time Liddy was authorized to receive a large payment, said to be between $80,000 and $83,000. As Sloan put it, "Mr. Liddy came to me indicating that he was being authorized a considerable allocation of cash funds. He had with him at that time what seemed to be a budget which he did not show to me other than the figures on it, it totaled $25,000 . . . The first disbursement he indicated he would need fairly shortly would be $83,000 with roughly [two] $12,000 disbursements following." Asked when he paid out the first $83,000, Sloan replied, "I am not sure of the precise date. My guess would be sometime early in April."

So it would appear that Liddy, when he was being authorized to spend $107,000 cash for his secret security program, was also being given "hot" checks totaling $114,000 to turn into cash. Very likely the authorization and the checks were one and the same. It is also possible that the money was being prepaid—that it was to be spent on the Hunt-Liddy operation—but that the cash itself was to be held by Sloan and disbursed upon request. Magruder, for example, told Sloan, again according to court testimony, "that he wished in each specific instance to clear the amount and the timing of the distribution" to Liddy.

One other piece of information supports this explanation. A reelection committee employee who wanted to be questioned without the presence of Nixon committee lawyers, told the FBI that "during the period February-April 1972, according to this source, Sloan allegedly disbursed large sums to various committee officials for unknown reasons such as . . . $89,000 to George Gordon Liddy."

How much cash did E. Howard Hunt, Jr., keep in his safe deposit box?

At 9:01 am June 19, the Monday morning after the break-in at the Watergate, Hunt went to his safe deposit box at the Riggs National Bank. Federal investigators, reconstructing Hunt's activities, noted that prior to each major Washington activity or trip by those convicted at the Watergate trial, Hunt visited that box. The assumption: Hunt kept cash there to finance the operations. It was Hunt who turned up at 4 am on June 17 at the home of a Washington lawyer to turn over $8500 in cash to pay for the initial defense costs of those arrested. The first $2500 went to criminal lawyer Joseph Rafferty, who appeared initially for the defendants, though none had asked for him. The remaining $6000 reportedly went into a trust account for the four caught Cubans controlled by Hunt's friend, Douglas Caddy.

Hunt paid cash—$175 a week—to Tom Gregory, the Utah college student who infiltrated first the Muskie, then the McGovern campaign organizations as a spy for the Nixon committee. Hunt also was reported by Barker to be the source of *his* money. One retired former CIA colleague of Hunt, Jack Bauman, turned down an offer to work in the campaign security operation, citing as among his reasons, "method of payment and tax retirement fund problems. . . ."

Recent stories have alleged that McCord identified Hunt's wife Dorothy as the person who delivered cash funds to McCord and others indicted and convicted in the Watergate case. Mrs. Hunt died in a Chicago airplane crash last December. She was carrying $10,000 in $100 bills.

Did James McCord, Jr. receive funds from a Nixon conduit committee which listed McCord as chairman?

One of the 450 conduit committees, the Dedicated Friends of a Better America, carried McCord as its chairman, according to an FBI report. It had a bank

COMING: How safe are nuclear power plants?
A report by Ralph E. Lapp

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account at the National Savings and Trust Company in Washington, opened February 22, 1972. Dozens of other similar accounts were opened simultaneously, to handle the rush of contributions that poured in before the April 7 deadline, which ushered in the new campaign fund public disclosure law. According to the FBI, some $90,000 passed through McCord's committee account—but unlike almost all the others which were closed by April 6, this bank account was kept open until April 17, 1972, after the new law was in effect.

What attempts have been made to cover up?

On June 23, less than a week after the Watergate burglars were caught red-handed, FBI agents tried to question GOP fund-raiser Kenneth Dahlberg. His check was now known to have gone into Barker's Miami bank account. For two weeks Dahlberg refused to be interviewed. The FBI noted in its report, however, that three times between June 23 and June 26, "when we were endeavoring to interview Dahlberg concerning this check, he made three telephone calls to Washington, DC, to the Committee to Re-elect the President."

When Dahlberg finally was questioned on July 6, he told the FBI the check "represented cash contributions [from a number of individuals] he had obtained while in Boca Raton." He lied. Only sometime later did he acknowledge that the $25,000 was all from Andreas.

On July 14, Stans told the FBI he could offer no explanation as to how the Mexican checks came into Barker's possession, since all his information on that matter came from Sloan. When the agents asked Stans "to make Sloan available for immediate interview, [Stans] advised that Sloan had resigned two weeks ago." Another lie? According to Sloan, he resigned that very day. In fact Stans in a later deposition said himself that Sloan resigned July 15. When the FBI contacted him three days later, Sloan refused to answer questions until he consulted with his lawyer. Later Sloan said he was hesitant because of "the possibility that any testimony I gave might in fact be used against me in subsequent litigation concerning the campaign law." That Sloan was worried about his role in connection with both the espionage and sabotage operations and the handling of campaign funds consonant with the law was reflected in his reponse to Judge John Sirica, who asked why he resigned. "Essentially," Sloan said, "my reasons for resigning involved the Watergate matter and personal considerations [his wife was pregnant], the fact that it was obvious to me at that point that the FBI was making an investigation, that there probably would be others."

Sloan finally did testify before the grand jury and at the Watergate trial. His hesitancy was overcome, it would appear, by assurances given by the government prosecutor, that Sloan would not face prosecution for any violation of campaign fund laws. Again in answer to Judge Sirica, Sloan said that prosecutor Silbert "indicated to me at that time [of the grand jury] . . . common sense would dictate reviewing the testimony and it was inconceivable any subsequent charges would come out of this and you didn't see any difficulties with my testimony or any wrongdoing."

But three minor infractions of the reporting law *were* alleged by the government and an indictment was brought against the reelection committee, Sloan and Liddy. They all pleaded no contest. An $8000 fine was levied and paid on their behalf by the Republican campaign organization.

Sloan, however, drew the ire of Judge Sirica when he maintained under oath that although he had given Liddy some $90,000 in cash prior to March 25, 1972, and another $107,000 in cash thereafter, he had no idea what the money was to be used for.

Stans, on the other hand gave two different versions of his knowledge of Liddy's activities. When the FBI questioned him on July 27 he told them he was aware "from general conversations" that Liddy was assigned a "security gathering job and that certain cash disbursements would have to made available to Liddy." A month later, in his deposition in the Democratic party lawsuit, he flatly swore under oath he "was not aware of any authority by Liddy to spend money for security purposes." It should be noted Stans never appeared to be questioned by the grand jury—he was required only to submit a sworn statement.

Who destroyed the record of cash transactions?

Sloan has testified that he kept the records of both check and cash transactions—contribution receipts and expenditures—from March 1971 to April 7, 1972, when public reporting under the new campaign fund law became mandatory. During the first week in April, Sloan said, he made up a "final summary" of cash disbursements and gave it to Stans. Thereafter he destroyed a "cash book" he had maintained, "since the summary before essentially contained the necessary information that was reflected in the book."

According to a deposition by Stans in the Democratic lawsuit, "Sloan kept a record of money received and money disbursed which he destroyed after he balanced out the account . . . the currency account." "He gave me a summary," Stans went on, "which I looked at only for the purposes of seeing who the contributors were. The disposition of the money and the balancing and all that was immaterial, as far as I was concerned, in my position." Stans refused to recall the names of any cash contributors and fenced with the Democrats' lawyer, Edward Bennett Williams, over who ordered the cash records, apparently meaning the backup cash book, destroyed. What happened to Sloan's summary statement after it was given Stans? That has yet to be disclosed, but its destruction—leaving no record at all of up to $1 million in disbursements—could raise serious tax problems.

What about records—other than for cash—from the pre-April 7 period?

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When the General Accounting Office looked into the $25,000 Dahlberg check, it was told by Stans, Sloan and other reelection committee officials that all records pertaining to the pre-April 7 period had been got rid of. The Common Cause lawsuit to force disclosure of all pre-April 7 contributions and expenditures proved that to be a lie. The early records were shipped to a New York warehouse by Sloan at Stans' direction in April 1972. Then in response to a subpoena, they were brought back to Washington in October. Some contributor records were subsequently turned over to Common Cause and made public. Donor records from the period of March 10 to April 7, the heaviest period of receipts and prepaid spending prior to the deadline, have not been made available and are the subject of continuing litigation. In addition few if any of the disbursements—totaling several million dollars—associated with the earlier period from March 1971 to April 1972 have been turned over to Common Cause, and none has been made public. Those expenditure records—which include many prepayments—might contain disbursements to leaders, if not the underlings, involved in the Watergate espionage and sabotage operation.

What role, if any, did White House counsel John Wesley Dean III play in campaign financing?

The omnipresent Mr. Dean was busy handling legal problems surrounding early Nixon fund-raising. For example when charters were being drafted in the spring and summer of 1971 for the 450 conduit campaign money-raising committees to be located in Washington, DC, Dean reportedly supervised the legal work. Sloan testified that in September 1971, when newspapers published the names of committees serving as conduits for $300,000 from milk-producing interests, a question arose from an employee of the Union Trust bank, who did not want to serve as an officer on one of the committees. Then the bank itself wanted assurance it would not have to report. At that point Sloan talked with Dean and was assured they did not have to file—an opinion that was passed on to the bank.

What part in all this was played by the President's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach?

According to Sloan, Kalmbach was the chief fund-raiser for the Nixon reelection effort from March 1971 until February 1972, when Maurice Stans took over. Kalmbach tapped a number of sources, including the milk producers who in March of 1971 had received a boost in support price of milk, thanks to a quick reversal of policy by then Agriculture Secretary Hardin. In February 1972, Kalmbach told one milk industry group "quite unequivocally," according to one participant in the meeting, "that funds were needed for effective representation of the President's position in the oncoming campaign." At a subsequent meeting, however, when the milk group spokesman made it clear "that all contributions would be explicitly identified and fully reported," Kalmbach announced "there was not to be any further discussions or request for political assistance. . . ."

Kalmbach also provides a direct link between the White House—particularly Dwight Chapin—and Donald Segretti, Chapin's friend who allegedly participated in widespread espionage and sabotage of Democratic candidates. The FBI has traced numerous phone conversations—and perhaps other connections—between Segretti and Hunt. Segretti was scheduled to testify at the Watergate trial with regard to Hunt—testimony that was not needed when Hunt pleaded guilty.

In September 1972 Kalmbach told the FBI he had hired Segretti at Chapin's suggestion at a salary of $16,000 a year plus expenses. Between September 1971 and March 15, 1972, Kalmbach said he gave Segretti between $30,000 and $40,000, some in cash, some perhaps by check. The money, he said, came from pre-April 7, 1972 campaign funds. But Kalmbach did not respond to a question of how large a fund existed. Kalmbach maintained in the FBI interview that he did not know what Segretti did in the campaign.

While Kalmbach was dealing with Segretti—late 1971 and early 1972—Sloan was the chief disbursing officer for the same funds, so that the Kalmbach-Sloan relationship was much like that between Stans and Sloan. One had responsibility for fund-raising and general authorization of expenditures (Kalmbach and later Stans), the other had primary responsibility for disbursement of what was authorized (Sloan). Thus Kalmbach was in general control of the Nixon reelection financial operation when Liddy's "security operation" was first authorized in December 1971.

The Committee to Re-elect the President has an employer identification number—52-0910852. The Ervin committee should find out how many of those who—sworn testimony shows—received cash from the committee reported that income to the Internal Revenue Service. In addition it should inquire whether the Republican committee gave the IRS a complete list of the persons it paid—by check or cash. Are E. Howard Hunt, Jr. and G. Gordon Liddy on that list? (Liddy is identified as receiving at least $235,000.) What did Segretti file on *his* tax return last year? Kalmbach said he paid him at least $30,000 beginning in September 1971. What about Frederick LaRue? This aide to Nixon campaign manager John Mitchell is said to have received $70,000 in cash last July. What does *his* tax return show, and did the GOP committee report that he did get this additional money?

To review income tax records, the Ervin committee needs an executive order signed by the President. To date that authority has not been granted. The committee is entitled to this information and should seek it. Reviewing tax returns will provide one more twist of the noose. The question is: who will be hung?

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Four for the Seesaw

Days and Nights in the Forest (Pathe Contemporary). Neglect is benign for some artists. An American novelist named William March was thought by some to be a neglected fine writer until a large anthology of his work was published; that finished March. The Indian director, Satyajit Ray, is a first-class artist, until you see his films. As long as he isn't imported, one can talk about injustice and neglect. But then along comes a Ray film, and, allowing for such exceptions as *Aparajito* and *Charulata*, it is usually a mild and fairly dull item.

This newly released Ray film is one of the milder and duller, wretchedly photographed, archaically edited, sentimental and superficial in style and theme. Four young middle-class men from Calcutta drive far out into the country for a holiday. The quartet could hardly be more tritely composed: a dreamer, a buffoon, an athlete, a fusspot. They take over a government forest-bungalow by bribing the caretaker who is poor and has a sick wife. (Social point here.) One of the four has an affair with a local "bad" girl. (Culture contrast here.) Two Calcutta girls are holidaying nearby and become friendly with two others of the men. (Reverse cultural comment here.)

The banality is relieved only by the charm of a girl named Sharmila Tagore and the near-subtlety of a word game played by the men and the two Calcutta girls. Otherwise it's the sort of film one sees at foreign countries' cultural centers in the US, where the "travelogue" content makes ninnies overlook the various crudities and sets them wondering why we can't make American-culture films like that. These are usually the people who ignore or dismiss films like *Wanda* and *Payday*.

Such a Gorgeous Kid Like Me (Columbia). Onward and Downward with Francois Truffaut. In his last film, *Two English Girls*, Truffaut showed a few revitalized touches, perhaps because he was dealing with another book by Roché, the author of *Jules and Jim*. Now, working from a crime novel, although a comic one, Truffaut makes his absolutely stupidest picture to date, enlivened only by one good performance, a brief scene with a child (he's got a gift with children), and an occasional view of Bernardette Lafont's good breasts. (She was in Truffaut's second short film, *Les Mistons*, 1958.)

Lafont is a Naughty girl, interviewed in prison by a Good young sociologist with a tape recorder. OK, so you know the end already; you wouldn't mind that, if there were some charm and wit. But every step of the way, most of which is flashback of the girl's life as she talks about it, the script is one more reworking of oo-la-la Frenchiness of the '30s. Essentially, it could have been made with Danielle Darrieux and Fernand Gravey, back then.

Truffaut, co-author of the screenplay taken from a novel by Henry Farrell, has never directed so badly. Over and over again he uses the device of starting a shot in medium distance, then moving in slowly for close-up—for no reason. Worse, he is apparently so conscious of losing the *brio* for which he was once justly famous that he arbitrarily inserts some filmic horseplay: one bit of trick camera work in which a farmer kicks his little girl up on to the top of a haystack; one rectangular iris-out; one stop-frame. Just so you'll get the *auteur* characteristics of the man who made *Shoot the Piano Player*. And there is Truffaut's usual homage to Hitchcock: two apparent corpses, left elsewhere, turn up in the criminal's bed.

Far from spicy immorality, the final effect of the film is nasty. The innocent sociologist is in jail for a long prison term, for a crime he didn't commit, while the guilty Lafont frisks outside. No poetic or supra-legal justice in it, not even irony. Just witless nastiness. The script needed a touch of Sacha Guitry, who knew the charming-scoundrel business inside out.

As director, Guitry would probably have approved the performance of Charles Denner. He plays an eccentric rat-catcher — puritanical, libidinous, canted physically as well as mentally—a sharp comic vignette by one of the very best French film actors.

Money, Money, Money (Cinerama). Denner is in this French film, too, which is another crime comedy, this time giving a quite different comic performance. This plot concerns five crooks who operate on a worldwide scale. Denner is the one who points out that they ought to get into politics—political kidnappings, etc.—where the real money is.

The script is by Claude Lelouch, who also directed (he made *A Man and a Woman*), and it has some fairly funny sequences. But it falters by not sticking to its premise—of moving into big crime money through politics. For instance, the gang hijacks an American 747 and releases it for two million. If they had never heard of politics, this caper would have been the same.

And, often, the film leaves the comic for the ludicrous. During the 747 caper, the two crooks who go to the airline office can't speak English. This is milked for laughs, but they're harmful laughs because they kill the basic comedy. The gang capable of planning this

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie. Buñuel, apparently getting younger, mocks the fancies of the stuffily corrupt with pitiless wit.

The Emigrants. Liv Ullmann. Max von Sydow. If that's not enough, some truth about 19th-century Sweden that drove people to the US.

Jeremiah Johnson. Robert Redford as a trapper in the Rockies 130 years ago, in a picture of exceptional authenticity.

Love. Delicate Hungarian film of humanity striving and thriving in a police state. Exquisite performance of a 96-year-old by Lili Darvas.

Painters Painting. Articulate interviews with 13 US artists and some other art-world figures. Fascinating. A lot of painting included—in decent color.

Payday. Rip Torn as a country-music singing star in the last epitomic days of his crazy life. American culture, sharply sliced.

Traffic. Jacques Tati's latest comedy is his best: a balletic spoof about auto madness. Actually more to be looked at than laughed at.

SK

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Robert Brustein on theater

Sam Shepard's America

London

Sam Shepard's *The Unseen Hand* was written in 1969, soon after the appearance of *Operation Side Winder*, and like that other excursion into the Western nightmare, it shows us an America in which myth and reality have become inseparable. The setting is a shoulder of the California Freeway. There a 1956 Chevrolet Belair squats, stripped and derelict, surrounded by the flotsam of the American highway: bones, sawdust, used tires, empty cans of Budweiser beer. On an adjacent billboard a smiling cartoon cowboy welcomes visitors to Azusa ("Everything from A to Z in the USA")—an actual town a few miles outside of Los Angeles whose name derives from the same slogan—and the playwright's imagination has obviously been dazzled by the kind of country that could invent such a place. *The Unseen Hand* is a hallucination based on fact—a compound of nostalgia and celebration in the face of the more tawdry elements of American life—which draws its energy from a compost heap, the flamboyant vulgarity of California culture.

Partly observed, partly absorbed, the characters of the play are a weird blending of authentic types and media constructs, as seen in McDonald's hamburger joints, bowling alleys, high-school stadiums, or in sci-fi movies, horror films and westerns. Taken together, they mingle past, present and future into a pastiche of legend and actuality which describes prole America more effectively than the most fastidious documentary. Included in this bizarre gallery are: Blue Morphan, a 120-year-old juicer who makes his home in the back seat of the Chevy; the two brothers, brought back from the dead, with whom he used to hold up trains—Cisco, a scruffy desperado in a poncho, and Sycamore, a sinister figure in black, with a sixgun more than a foot long; the Kid, a brainless high-school cheerleader; and Willie, an eerie creature from a distant planet called Nogoland, who has been possessed by an unseen hand that squeezes his brain whenever he tries to "think beyond a certain circumference."

Shepard's approach is simply to place these disparate characters against a contemporary landscape, and let them work upon each other: Willie subjects Blue to an electronic transformation which brings him back to the age of 30; the Kid (his trousers are down throughout the play) has been whipped by supporters of the opposing team who also tried to paint his balls black; the resurrected train robbers discover, to their grief, that they have lost their function because "there ain't no trains no more, just planes and Hovercrafts." Shepard also throws in a plot of sorts, concerning the efforts of Willie to escape from the Hand, and to free his enslaved people from the Silent Ones. When the Kid tries to shoot him, screaming his love for Azusa to the accompaniment of a rock chorus ("I love the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Kiwanis and the Safari Shopping Center and the Freeway and the Bank of America and the Donut Shoppes and the miniature golf course and setting off cherry bombs and my Mom . . ."), Willie breaks the spell of his intergalactic oppressor by reciting the Kid's litany backward, a language which turns out to be the ancient tongue of the Nogo. He returns to his planet, leaving the earth people stranded on theirs—reconciled to America, but afflicted with their own kind of brain possession.

Jim Sharman's production is splendid, a triumph for the Fringe, and his actors have located precisely the right identities for their characters: Warren Clarke's Blue Morphan, a salty derelict out of *Treasure of Sierra Madre;* Richard O'Brien's Willie, looking like Julian Beck and sounding like Peter Lorre, a fugitive from Mad Doctor movies; Christopher Malcolm as Sycamore, a hybrid of Wyatt Earp and Fearless Fosdick; and Clive Endersby, a bouncy Kid from the world of Andy Hardy. Fifties rock 'n' roll provides a whiff of pop nostalgia and the flag-draped Chevy is a striking piece of junk sculpture, while Neil Hansford's prepared piano plunks out a variety of melodies and sound effects. As for Shepard, he continues to confront American popular culture with a kind of manic exuberance—not exalting its every wart and pimple, like Andy Warhol, but nevertheless considerably turned on, like many of his generation, even by its more brutalized expressions. In a degenerate time, this may be a strategy for survival, and it certainly sparks the energy of *The Unseen Hand;* but I miss that quality of aloofness that would make this play not only a creative act, but an act of moral resistance as well.

Dreamscape

On the steep road
curving to town, up
through spruce trees
from the filled-in canal,
there have been five houses, always.

But when I sleep
the whole left side of the blacktop
clears itself into good pasture.
There are two old horses,
tethered. And a curving row
of miniature bison, kneeling,

each with his two front hooves
tucked in neatly under the lip
of the asphalt. I am asleep.
I cannot explain it. I do not
want to explain it.

Philip Booth

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Contemplative Sloths and Manic Cats

Mind: An Essay on Human Feeling, Volume II

by Susanne K. Langer

(Johns Hopkins Press; $12.95)

Thanks to the popularization of science and the rapid diffusion of scientific discoveries, many curious and exotic facts have become matters of common knowledge. We know, for example, that rapid eye movements which have given their initials to REM sleep mean that the sleeper is watching his dreams; that defeated wolves humbly offer their throats to their opponents, who nobly refuse to bite a brother wolf while he is down but instead urinate as a token of victory; that man owes his superiority to the possession of an opposable thumb; that apes can make elementary conversation if taught the language of the deaf and dumb; that dolphins are as intelligent as men, and would have had a literature to prove it if only they could have held waterproof markers in their flippers; that clever birds feign injury to lead strangers away from their nests; and that bears mark trees by rubbing fur on them as a sign to other bears.

One of the many refreshing things about Susanne Langer is that she refuses to believe a word of all this, and has an alternative explanation in every case. Fetuses with no visual experience exhibit rapid eye movements; the first wolf is merely paralyzed with fright and the second, puzzled by an immobile opponent, goes off to urinate because it has wanted to all along, what with the excitement of the fight and all; there is a frog with an opposable thumb that has nevertheless not become, in Mrs. Langer's words, a "superfrog"; apes just respond to rewards and can't properly be said to converse at all; dolphins have big brains only so that one half can sleep while the other half stays awake; birds don't feign anything but, like the defeated wolf, go lame with terror; bears rub themselves on trees because they itch. With dry and devastating observations like these Mrs. Langer mows down one Sunday-supplement wonder after another, backing up almost everything with impressive resources of scholarship. She knows the scientific literature of this domain in professional detail, and occasionally catches the scientists themselves out in lapses of consistency or inference.

This book, in fact, is remarkable for its combination of readability and erudition, even if the latter is at times somewhat overdone (for example the use of unexplained technical terminology). It is populated with a fascinating range of animal types, from contemplative sloths —admirable creatures which according to the naturalist who studied them live a wholly interior life and "appear to want to be strictly alone"—to cats surgically deprived of sleep who grew more and more restless until they died "in a state that seemed to resemble acute manic delirium," via maternal dolphins who discipline their young by holding them at the bottom of the water or lifting them out of it altogether, strategies roughly equivalent in human terms to suffocation and drowning. And yet as one comes to the end of it one is left wondering just what is going on. In a book on the marvels of nature the anecdotes would be all right but the scholarship out of place; in a learned work on zoology the treatment would have to be narrower and deeper, or more originally synoptic. Mrs. Langer's book is neither —it is supposed to be a philosophical treatment of the concept of mind, and its purpose is far from anecdotal. What are all those animals doing in it, and why is Mrs. Langer so anxious to deny to them anything resembling human reactions or intentions?

One difficulty is that this is neither the first nor the last volume of what the flap calls Mrs. Langer's "masterwork." But at any rate Volume I is available, so even if it is too early to tell how things will end it is possible to find out what she started out to do. Her program is in fact extraordinarily ambitious: it is to account at once for the continuity and the differences between animals and man, to show how Mind has emerged from the biological and what it consists in. As her subtitle indicates, she attaches great importance to the concept of "feeling," and Volume I is devoted to a discussion of it, mainly in the context of art. Feeling is not equivalent to emotion but is an accompaniment of and a testimony to any mental act. By and large animals have it and plants do not. But it is not exactly equivalent to consciousness either, although this is an issue Mrs. Langer tends to skirt. Psychological theory has avoided the concept of feeling because of a dislike of vague, unmeasurable entities, but it has impoverished itself by trying to imitate the physical sciences. This is an old cry, but Mrs. Langer puts it in a new way, in terms of the "idols of the laboratory" (which she identifies as Physicalism, Methodology, Jargon, Objectivity, and Mathematization). Her definitions are at times beautifully succinct: "Jargon is language more technical than the ideas it serves to express." Now it is no doubt true that the behavioral sciences have tended to be jargon-ridden and reductive, but the question is what Mrs. Langer is going to do with the concept they have rejected, and it is by no means clear that in her hands its vagueness is either overcome or exploited.

If one rejects the traditional theological view—a view which had the virtues of simplicity and dignity, and whose only drawback was that on examination there proved to be not the slightest reason for supposing it to be true—according to which man is the point of intersection of the spiritual and material worlds, then the spiritual world, or Mind, must have evolved out of the material one. Once, that is to say, there were just molecules in motion; now there are men, with aspirations, memories, imaginations and the rest; it must be possible to trace a continuous history leading from one to the other. The beginning and end of this history are qualitatively different, yet no step in it can be more than a modest and local rearrangement of material. To many

Coming

Robert Coles reconsiders
Catcher in the Rye

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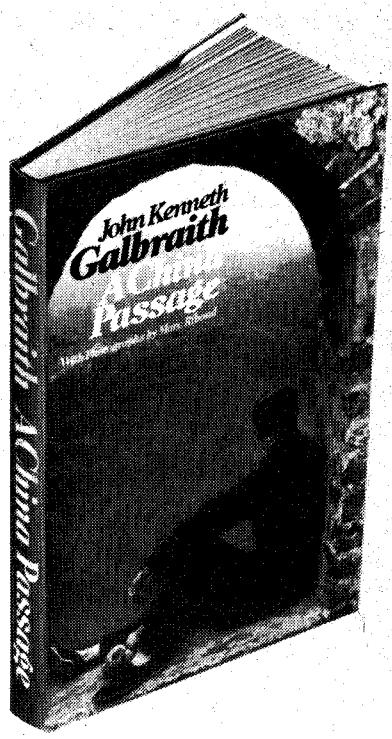
people it seems preposterous to imagine that all this can have come out of merely that, but they forget two things: the staggering amount of time that the process has taken, and the fantastic numbers of entities involved in it. Many of the fundamental processes of physics take place with extreme rapidity, in billionths of a second or less; the number of elementary particles in a smallish bit of matter, say the paper encircled by this letter O, is of the order of billions of billions; the observable universe is trillions of miles across; the history even of the earth goes back billions of years. It is not therefore really surprising that the modest complexity of the body and the brain should, in an exceptional corner of the galaxy, have come into being. And yet even that complexity is many times greater than that of the crude apparatus of sense and reflection by means of which we come to know and understand it.

The fact that man has set himself the task of understanding is in itself extraordinary. What it amounts to is that one infinitesimal fragment of the universe, small enough to be contained in the human head, has set itself to match all the rest. Mrs. Langer's head, which (as her picture on the jacket shows) looks amused, benevolent and wise, has clearly not been intimidated by this challenge. But what really counts as understanding? Philosophers have always been divided about this, and according to their different responses have chosen different styles, different points of departure, different directions of argument. On the one hand painstaking care over shades of meaning, on the other an attempt to grasp principles by whatever obscure or metaphorical handles they may present; on the one hand beginning with the human and finite and everyday in order to work outwards, on the other beginning with the cosmic and infinite and eternal in order to work inwards; on the one hand explaining perception in terms of causal relations, on the other explaining causal relations in terms of perception. The only philosopher I know of to have taken the last strategy seriously is Whitehead, and Mrs. Langer has something in common with him, including a tendency to neologism; she introduces or borrows "tensities" and "pressions," as well as giving novel senses to "motivations" and "acts." But she lacks Whitehead's audacity. He made an elementary form of perception, which he called "prehension," an absolutely basic category; but "feeling" for Mrs. Langer is not basic, it "emerges," as at a later stage do significance and mind itself, and the trouble with emergent categories is that one is limited to saying *that* they emerge, one can never in the nature of the case say *how* they do so.

Unfortunately Mrs. Langer offends against her own principles in attempting to give color and plausibility to these stages of development toward the human. Jargon, after all, may also be language less technical than it needs to be to express the ideas it serves, and there is a kind of jargon, associated with art criticism and similar activities, whose objectionable quality is its vagueness rather than its precision. Mrs. Langer has made important contributions to esthetics, where this kind of thing is a special danger, and some of the characteristic looseness of much writing in that domain comes over in this book. Many examples could be given, but one will have to do: "each behavioral act appears . . . to take shape as an articulate directed impulse under the restraint of competing impulses, to find its implementation by ambient conditions, through preparatory preceding behavior and constant, concerted perceptual acts, and to be sustained by the dynamics of the act form itself—rhythmic perseveration, which in behavioral acts becomes facilitated repetition—elaboration, entrainment and integration, and especially an overall tension that is resolved in consummation." Now in one sense this is clear enough, but it is more like an attempt to describe what goes on in a symphony, say, than to give a tight account of a scientific finding. Yet if Mrs. Langer's argument is not tightly tied to the interpretation of scientific findings it collapses, becoming nothing more than a vivid and documented restatement of the problem, and not in any way a step toward its solution.

Mrs. Langer's aim is philosophy on the large scale, not the small. The questions she raises are basic and important, but the concepts she uses are often dubious. And the reason why we have seen so much small-scale philosophy in recent years is that until the concepts are clear the grand works run the risk of failure if not of absurdity. Mrs. Langer's strategy here is to borrow her concepts from science and art, but this is very risky. In a revealing passage in Volume I she says, "People who pursue the general problems of art have to be steeped in their subject matter, so they tend to speak the language of artists,



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which is largely metaphorical and consequently less responsible and consistent than that of philosophers, but often more authoritative." More authoritative *about art*, agreed; but not about philosophy. And art is in fact a much smaller aspect of human life than Mrs. Langer thinks, if we look at the actual situation rather than at human potential. (Her attitude to art is not, I am sorry to say, without its snobbery; in connection with the "secondary illusion of silence" created by a figure of Ceres in the British Museum she says, "If one approached the statue in company of twenty trudging people, with a guide reciting handbook history and calling attention to stylistic and material features, the silence of the piece would probably be destroyed before it could be felt by any beholder." But what proportion of the world's population goes to museums *at all*, even trudging with guides?) And it is just because the concepts of science and art have been insufficiently clarified that analytic philosophy is necessary.

While Mrs. Langer's book is never absurd, therefore, it cannot—yet—be said to have succeeded. The remaining volumes may change that, but "The Great Shift," as Volume II is also subtitled—the shift from the animal to the human, from intelligence to intellect, from feeling to Mind—remains in one sense as perplexing at the end as at the beginning. The character of the perplexity has been altered by the wealth of material the book marshals, and that is already a philosophical achievement. "An evolutionist may wonder," says Mrs. Langer near the end of Volume II, "how and when the transformation from the highest animal mentality to mind took place. The answer, I believe, is that it never did." This is explained in terms of a theory of the late realization of early genetic and structural specialization, a theory which in its own right is an important contribution to our understanding of animal development. But to remove the developmental puzzle does not solve the philosophical puzzle: how consciousness and understanding come to be in the world, not how the human animals that possess them come to have the structure they do. If these are the same problem—and they may be—Mrs. Langer has not yet shown it. And the exaggerated and not always justified skepticism she evinces toward what appear to be animal anticipations of the human might just spring from a *parti pris* about the nature and magnitude of the shift rather than following from an understanding of it.

Still the enterprise is a heroic one, and there can be no doubt of the seriousness, the intellect, the integrity, the massive hard work that Mrs. Langer has brought to it. One has a sense, precisely, that she has *felt* the complexity of the situation of the human, that all this fits together in her head perhaps better than it fits together in her book. (In her head she no doubt has the rest of it.) So far she has worked up from feelings to acts to values to symbols; the remaining steps will go from society to morality and truth. The risk is that very little of this may apply to man as he practically is. For Mrs. Langer, on the last page, the *characteristics* of human society are "personal responsibility, standards of justice, honor and loyalty to a social order." Looking about, one is amazed by the fact that she can still think so. Yet on the other hand we need philosophers like her, to take the whole of some domain of knowledge as their province, to insist that the human animal live up to its possibilities, to set uncompromisingly high moral standards. For those characteristics are still available, if a human society is what we want, and our chances of achieving them are not unconnected to our understanding of our relations to the animals. Especially the sloths.

Peter Caws

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

PHILIP BOOTH *teaches at Syracuse University; his most recent book is* Margins *(Viking).* PETER CAWS *is in France, on leave from Hunter College where he is a professor of philosophy.*

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In Brief

The Movie at the End of the World by Thomas McGrath

(Swallow; $8.00)

Thomas McGrath is one of the best American poets extant, but he is of the wrong political and esthetic camp, and therefore consistently neglected by our literary power brokers, being seldom anthologized or reviewed. Even his own publisher is leery of the camp he belongs to, and evasively misplaces him, comparing his "sonorities of poetic speech" to those of Hart Crane and Dylan Thomas. The sonorities are sometimes there all right, but his connections with these two are otherwise slight. He is a socialist poet, and would therefore have to have been a citizen of another country to be accepted here.

His new book of poems, his tenth, is a very full representation of his work for more than 30 years, leaving out only—except for a couple of excerpts—his massive, autobiographical *Letters to an Imaginary Friend*. The collection displays him as an old-time dustbowl radical out of the Dakotas of the '30s, an idealist whose faith in the capacity of the "accursed poor" to rise against their banker oppressors diminishes through the volume, leaving us at the end with the characteristic romantic progression from illusion to disillusion—a progression that in the hands of a lesser writer would be deadly sour grapes, but in McGrath's hands becomes a well-documented and depersonalized indictment of the dollar and its possessive worshippers.

Sometimes he is a poet of the land, in a manner reminiscent of the great "rivers" series of Pare Lorentz; and sometimes he is the poet of an oppressed urban proletariat. Sometimes he writes tough, sophisticated modern verse, and sometimes he adopts the mode of simple old-time ballads. But nearly always he is a "we" poet rather than an "I" poet; his subject is society rather than the self. Even when his own isolation as a defeated and depressed radical surrounded by the enemy comes over him, his "I" manages to achieve a certain elevation from itself, as in his wonderful final "Gone Away Blues," which begins:

Girls, when you are in your last extremity,
When your admirals are drowning in
the grass-green sea,
When your generals are preparing the
total catastrophe—
I just want you to know how you can
not count on me.

And ends after several stanzas of funny but incisive "I won't" detail:

Good-by, good-by, good-by,
Adios, au 'voir, so long,
Sayonara, dosvedanya, ciao,
by-by, by-by, by-by.

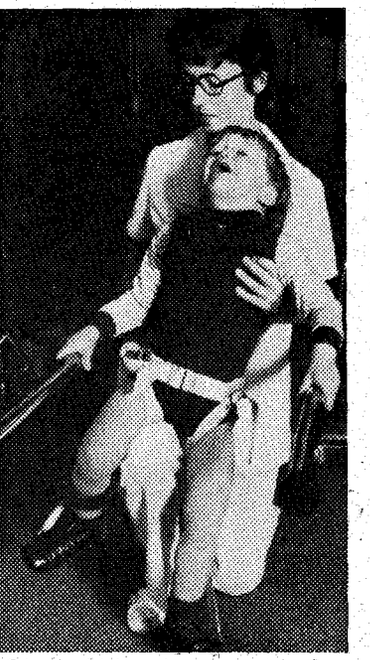
Guitar Army: Street Writings, Prison Writings by John Sinclair

(Douglas Book Corp.; $7.95)

This is a product of the so-called counterculture; the author is an activist in that culture. In 1964 he helped establish in Detroit an "Artist's Workshop," a group of writers and musicians who gave free readings and concerts. Then came "Trans-Love Energies," another effort to promote "new values" among those in the state of Michigan likely to be interested—certainly not the automobile factory workers. Pamphlets and "community newspapers" poured out; there were also food distribution programs, legal defense programs, rock concerts, and of course, a concerted drive against the state's anti-marijuana laws. From Trans-Love Mr. Sinclair moved on to the White Panther Party, which he also helped found, and then something called the Rainbow People's Party. Meanwhile the police were keeping a sharp eye on this man. He was arrested several times for possessing pot, and in 1967 the forces of "justice" moved against him with determination. By 1969 he had been sentenced to 10 years in prison, after having been found guilty of giving an undercover agent two joints. He appealed and appealed, and his friends organized on his behalf. Allen Ginsberg called him a "revolutionary saint," and eventually the far less excitable and radical *Detroit Free Press* indicated that Sinclair had been sent away for an absurdly long time, probably because he was the kind of person he is: offensive to the police, prosecutors, judges, and no doubt, the majority of Michigan's people. He is now free, and recently *Esquire* called him one of the "leaders" of the rock culture.

Those who want to read what that culture has to offer might want to read Sinclair. While he was in jail, while he labored on the streets to advocate his views, he wrote an assortment of statements, letters, announcements, predictions of things to come, and on and on. By now his kind of rhetoric is unsurprising, though when first spoken it was unquestionably meant to shock people: the endless swear words and the impassioned forecasts, the unqualified hate directed at this nation and its government—and, of course, the promise that one day soon drugs and "liberated" sex and communal living and anarchist radical politics would provide utopia for thousands of freaked-out people. One is at a loss to know how all the hate that is contained in the "guitar army" of Sinclair's is going to disappear, even given the victories that army is struggling to win. Nor is it easy to accept the author's contention that he and others herald a future of the "creative" young—at last free of bourgeois hang-ups. The fact is that Sinclair's writing is boring, repetitious, riddled with clichés, unimaginative, and finally, better for sleep than those downers he and his kind upon occasion use. For self-congratulatory arrogance, the writing surely must be the equal of anything J. P. Morgan or Andrew Carnegie chose to set down on paper.

Did you ever want something so bad it hurt?



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Picasso—Two Comments

Picasso . . . was an outsider, not a Frenchman, and could not with the others accept Cézanne as a father—"*le pere de nous tous*," as Matisse once said. Instead, he regarded him as a rival. And here a peculiarity of Picasso's must be taken into account. Picasso never exhibited at the Salons or other collective shows. He stood apart. He at times explained this, but the explanations had not much value. The truth was that he felt as one apart, as one without companions or equals. He did not enter into rivalry. It was one of those complex cases where a man feels sure and yet evades the test. Exhibition was both a degradation and a risk. Picasso's confidence was good for much, but for no more.

There was, however, one rival who had to be met—Cézanne—and it is interesting to watch Picasso's course in the conflict. His drawing began to lose the nuances of the Harlequin period, and its curves grew larger, with marked opposition to straight lines. Deformation as a means of accent became more and more pronounced. The shapes were simplified and enlarged, but the quality of intrinsic form, in spite of all this, was not achieved. This seems indeed to be an inherent quality, and no painter, so far as I know, once without it, has ever acquired it. Nevertheless, since it was Picasso *contra mundum*, success was the only alternative to complete failure. Picasso unconsciously adopted a ruse. He overcame at length by avoiding the comparison entirely. When there were no longer common terms, he could believe what pleased him regarding his own work. The confrontation with Cézanne left him fancy free.

Picasso was not a great painter or a great master of composition but in both directions he was capable. He had grace and felicity of a very rich kind, and he had endless ingenuity. He kept his type of cubism alive by his infinite inventiveness, by his success in devising new combinations. At bottom, however, there was very little to it all. . . .

Why then, it may be asked, is Picasso's cubist work better than that of others? The answer, of course, is that he has more talent. His talent is immense, but, to my thinking, it has been wasted on trivialities. Therefore this last work of his is immature and trivial, though often felicitous and successful.

Picasso was very human, with a keen appreciation of personal qualities. He had infinite gifts of expression. Like a Rembrandt or a Goya he would have grown to maturity of power by developing his native faculties. Instead, defects of character and inopportunity of circumstances led him to seek his realization in construction of pure form for which his talent was but slight. Realization cannot come through evasion Picasso refused his real job as not good enough for him, and the result has been a wilderness of foolery and waste.

Leo Steir

The New Republic, April 23, 192

Today the pictures of Picasso have come back to me from the exhibition at the Petit Palais and once more they are on my walls. I can not say that during their absence I forgot the splendor but they are more splendid than that. The twentieth century is more splendid than the nineteenth century, certainly it is much more splendid. The twentieth century has much less reasonableness in its existence than the nineteenth century but reasonableness does not make for splendor. The seventeenth century had less reason in its existence than the sixteenth century and in consequence it has more splendor. So the twentieth century is that, it is a time when everything cracks, where everything is destroyed, everything isolates itself, it is a more splendid thing than a period where everything follows itself. So then the twentieth century is a splendid period, not a reasonable one in the scientific sense, but splendid. The phenomena of nature are more splendid than the daily events of nature, certainly, so then the twentieth century is splendid.

It was natural that it was a Spaniard who understood that a thing without progress is more splendid than a thing which progresses. The Spaniards who adore mounting a hill at full speed and coming down the hill slowly, it is they who were made to create the painting of the twentieth century, and they did it, Picasso did it.

One must not forget that the earth seen from an airplane is more splendid than the earth seen from an automobile. The automobile is the end of progress on the earth, it goes quicker but essentially the landscapes seen from an automobile are the same as the landscapes seen from a carriage, a train, a wagon, or in walking. But the earth seen from an airplane is something else. So the twentieth century is not the same as the nineteenth century and it is very interesting knowing that Picasso has never seen the earth from an airplane, that being of the twentieth century he inevitably knew that the earth is not the same as in the nineteenth century, he knew it, he made it, inevitably he made it different and what he made is a thing that now all the world can see. When I was in America I for the first time tra velled pretty much all the time in a airplane and when I looked at the earth I saw all the lines of cubism made at time when not any painter had eve gone up in an airplane. I saw there o the earth the mingling lines of Picasso coming and going, developing and de stroying themselves, I saw the simpl solutions of Braque, I saw the wander ing lines of Masson, yes I saw and onc more I knew that a creator is contem porary, he understands what is con temporary when the contemporaries d not yet know it, but he is contemporar and as the twentieth century is a cen tury which sees the earth as no one ha ever seen it, the earth has a splendo that it never has had, and as everythin destroys itself in the twentieth centur and nothing continues, so then th twentieth century has a splendor whic is its own and Picasso is of this centur he has that strange quality of an eart that one has never seen and of thing destroyed as they have never bee destroyed. So then Picasso has h splendor.

Gertrude Stei

Picasso, 19

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Reconsideration

Edith Wharton

For 60 years the 1905 best-seller by Edith Wharton has continued to appear on reading lists for college students. Now with the great surge of interest in women writers and women characters, Lily Bart has become a heroine of the "Movement," a character whose tragic life shows the coruscating effect of patriarchal society upon women. *The House of Mirth* has become a textbook of feminism. One goes back to it to discover why.

In the first 100 pages of the first edition we learn almost everything about Lily Bart that we will need to know during the remaining months of her life. She is just under 30, beautiful and stately, "calculating" about the necessity to marry soon, living by "design" and "plan" because she has no parental sponsorship to help her "campaign," very little money, and only her looks as weapon. (The words I have quoted appear in this way in the first pages, suggesting, inevitably, the clearly laid-out strategies of Julien Sorel, his Napoleonic logistics against women.) She is conscious that she's "been about too long—people are getting tired of me; they are beginning to say I ought to marry," unlike her friend, Lawrence Selden, who is tired of the practice of law but not tired enough to marry well "to get out of it." Lily has no choice about marrying or not: "A girl must, a man may if he chooses." For a possible husband, Percy Gryce, whom she thinks about as her "prey," she organizes "a method of attack."

Lily's vulnerable position in society is accented by what she realizes all too well, that she has been spoiled by the need for luxuries she cannot afford on her own: "She was not meant for mean and shabby surroundings, for the squalid compromise of poverty. Her whole being dilated in an atmosphere of luxury; it was the background she required, the only climate she could breathe in." After losing heavily at bridge, she comes back to her bedroom in a great house in which she is a weekend guest, and sees in her mirror the trace of lines in her face, the face which her mother had assured her, after they had lost their money, would henceforth constitute her fortune: "You'll get it back."

Lily never lacks the power to criticize the surroundings so essential to her existence. The other houseguests are dull but still "lords of the only world she cared for." She is heartened by the thought that, with the possibility of Percy as husband, "there was room for her, after all, in this crowded selfish world of pleasure whence, so short a time since, her poverty had seemed to exclude her." She finds herself, nonetheless, admiring Selden's "certain social detachment" from it all. She listens with interest to his declaration that for him success is personal freedom, the ability "to keep a kind of republic of the spirit." Engaged in "the business" of and "the design" for attracting a wealthy husband, Lily cannot afford the indulgence of Selden's freedom. She cannot join him in his democracy for, from her cradle, she tells her impoverished cousin, Gerty Farish, she was taught that she must be "comfortable." It is all to be blamed on "the way I was brought up," and "the things I was taught to care for" that have determined her destiny.

At the turn of the century money and society were synonymous. The first faint cracks in the amalgam were appearing (a Jew named Rosedale figures prominently in this novel as the beginning of the separation), but for Lily, extraordinary care must be taken to achieve either one or both. While she sometimes yearns "for anything different, remote and untried," she is quickly brought back by the recognition that to be excluded from this world would be fatal; nowhere "but in a drawing room diffusing elegance as a flower sheds perfume" can she bear to live. She loves to smoke (in 1905 smoking is the sign, for women, of extreme freedom), but she tells Selden she has given it up as a *jeune fille à marier*. Her acquiescence parallels her earlier critical sense: it is not so much that she agrees with society in its dictates as she knows its utility. She understands that money and society are opportunities "which may be used either stupidly or intelligently, according to the capacity of the user."

From this early view of Lily one feels her charm, her intelligence, her rare beauty. In these characteristics she has a strong alliance with Anna Karenina, in the same way as in her emotional and physical reliance on the world of luxury she resembles Emma Bovary and, in still another respect, when a woman friend later observes that "she despises the things she's trying for," she reminds us of Hester Prynne. She is a clear-eyed anti-romantic, a rueful realist whose cold insight cannot do more than make her situation appear hopeless to her. For she lacks "continuity of moral strength" and "purpose" to avoid the pitfalls of the strict social code, and the character to resist its seductions. Unlike Hester, for whom the scarlet letter had not done its office of punishment, Lily is defeated, sinking down through successively lower levels of New York life until she accidentally takes an overdose of sleeping drops.

Although it was inevitable that Lily should not succeed, small accidents help the predetermined defeat along. A careless social slip frightens Percy Gryce away; a more major accident which appears as an indiscretion used by a jealous wife unsettles Lily from her precarious social perch in the house of mirth. But these are incidental to the larger fatalism of the novel. In what Blake Nevius calls "the spectacle of a lonely struggle with the hostile forces of the environment," classic fates are at work on Edith Wharton's doomed Lily, making her a victim of her time, almost a Sophoclean heroine. This may be hyperbole, but it is my feeling that Blake Nevius, the most perspicacious of Wharton's critics, underestimates Lily when he characterizes her as an essentially "lightweight and static protagonist." Static she often is, sometimes by design: there is one scene where she appears in a society entertainment, a *tableau*, in which she poses as Reynolds' "Mrs. Lloyd," pedestaled and bigger than life, like Hester on the scaffold.

But I think he misses the full force of this situation. There is no lightweightedness in her posture. Her immobility is tragically fated and prophetic. Edith

The House of Mirth
by Edith Wharton
Originally published in 1905
by Scribners
Now available from Houghton Mifflin, edited by R. W. Lewis, $1.45; Scribners, $5.95 and $2.25; Holt, Rinehart & Winston text edition, $1.95; New American Library, $.75

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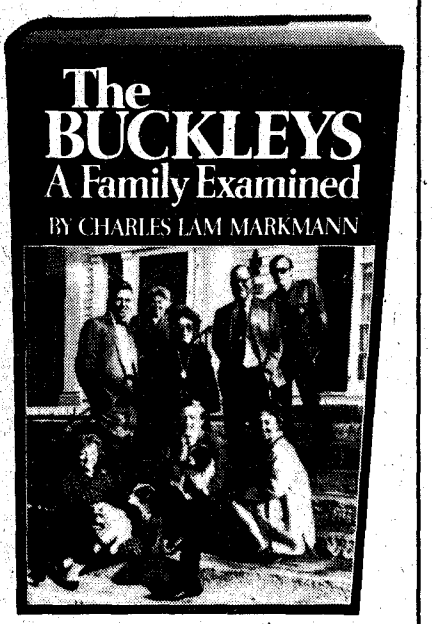

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Wharton leaves us in no doubt of that when she tells us, early in the book, that "she had a fatalistic sense of being drawn from one wrong turning to another." And then, having committed a crucial social *faux pas*, she flees to the mirthless apartment of Gerty Farish. Lying in Gerty's arms, in her bed, in one of those rare feminine scenes of sexual tenderness in the fiction of this time, she cries out against " . . . the furies . . . you know the noise of their wings—alone, at night, in the dark." Again: moved now to the second and lower level of society where she struggles for financial survival as social secretary to a woman of dubious reputation, the fear of "the mounting tide of dinginess" haunts her in the person of the vengeful Bertha Dorset, the "pursuing fury."

There can be no doubt. To Edith Wharton, Lily Bart is a woman in the classic and aristocratic mold. Her name alone (the abbreviation for baronet) tells us this, and her elevation dooms her to fall. Noble and heroic, her struggle is futile, and in this lies a genuine, early criticism of the society into which Edith Wharton was born, and in which she spent a long and seemingly comfortable existence. Lily's is what has been called "the trapped sensibility." She is the woman whose beauty and whose poverty together are her destiny in an implacable American society.

As I have said, Lily herself knows the true nature of this society, and this makes her situation harder to bear. She sees that divorcées are excluded from polite society, "except those who had showed signs of penitence by being re-married to the very wealthy." She understands her aunt's hospitality to her "because she had the kind of moral *mauvaise honte* which makes the public display of selfishness difficult, though it does not interfere with its private indulgence." At the last, she has moved through these awarenesses to a self-knowledge which speaks for all dependent and lonely women, in her time and, after almost 70 years, in ours:

> . . . it was the clutch of solitude at her heart, the sense of being swept like a stray uprooted growth down the heedless current of the years . . . as she looked back she saw that there had never been a time when she had any real relation to life. . . . She had grown up without any one spot on earth being dearer to her than another; there was no centre of early pieties, of grave endearing traditions to which her heart could revert and from which it could draw strength for itself and tenderness for others.

It is significant that this epiphany comes when she is admitted to the kitchen of a former object of her charity, Nettie Struther, and she witnesses the warmth and security of Nettie's family life. Here she has "her first glimpse of the continuity of life." It comes on the last day of hers.

Lily Bart, "fashioned to adorn and delight," "an organism as helpless out of its narrow range as the sea-anemone torn from the rock," dies of her impotence in the face of social hostility, and her own over-reliance on the warm comforts of the great houses of mirth. She dies because she is an unmarketable product in the only arena open to her, the marriage mart. "*A girl must, a man may if he chooses.*" In those poignant words is the tragedy of the unfree woman since "civilization" and "society" assigned her to bondage.

Doris Grumbach

Correspondence

Volunteer Army

Sirs:

Your March 3 edition included an article by Mr. Joseph Califano ("Doubts about an All-Volunteer Army") replete with errors and false charges about the all-volunteer force. As the Defense official closest to that program for the past four years, I want to set the record straight.

Chief among Mr. Califano's charges are 1) the all-volunteer force is "a very expensive proposition" and among the "choices that have been quietly made in the fiscal 1974 budget," and 2) "an all-volunteer army is structured to bring into the armed forces the poor and near poor . . ."

I am confident that the informed public's own experience discredits the claim that the all-volunteer force was a choice "quietly made in the fiscal 1974 budget." Mr. Nixon, while campaigning for President in 1968, announced his firm intention to end the draft and move to a peacetime all-volunteer force. The goal and the related volunteer ac

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tivities have been reported almost continuously since the Gates Commission was convened by the President in 1969. These are facts well known to Congress, the news media and the general public.

The simple cost and related pay facts are these: For 13 years, 1952 to 1964, military first termers received *no* pay increases—a period in which virtually every wage and salary earner in our society received at least annual pay adjustments. Until their pay hike of November 1971, the total compensation of military first termers—basic pay plus allowances—was $600 a year less than the federal minimum wage!

The big amount invested in military pay in the past two years was in fact fair and equitable catch-up, due the military members. Would Mr. Califano have avoided these expenditures in pay, thus making the poor poorer?

Our nation was still drafting men into military service when the big pay increase occurred, and it seemed unconscionable to the Nixon administration to continue drafting men into depressed levels of pay. To do so would have been, as pointed out by the Gates Commission in its report, an insidious and burdensome tax on the military member.

Mr. Califano's claim that the all-volunteer system is designed to attract "the poor and the near-poor" is baseless. Since when has a living wage become a lure to attract only the poor? Entry into the armed forces is on the basis of meeting physical, mental and moral standards. It doesn't matter how rich or poor a candidate is. If a young person who is poor qualifies for the armed forces, and is thus relieved of his poverty, so much the better for the nation and for him.

The all-volunteer force is attracting a typical cross-cut of Main Street, USA—rich, poor and middle class. Seventy-five percent of the entries have high school or better educations. Eighteen percent are racial minorities, which is virtually their proportion of the national population. The number of new volunteer entries during the past year—over 400,000—and their varied backgrounds, belies the charge that they are, by plan, dominated by the "poor and near poor."

Finally if Mr. Califano would reject the all-volunteer force, what would he substitute in its place—the draft? For this nation to draft its young citizens is an important policy action, justified only if our national defense requires it. The alternative—voluntary enlistment—is working well. It has been demonstrated that we don't need the draft to meet our peacetime military requirements.

The draft has ended and we have achieved the all-volunteer force. It is a better military organization than its draft-heavy predecessor of four years ago. Mr. Califano may prefer the draft, but he shouldn't attempt to discredit this historic achievement by spinning "rich man—poor man" yarns that are unsupported by the facts.

Roger T. Kelley
Assistant Secretary of Defense

In reply:

By the administration's own figures, the fiscal 1968 manpower costs for roughly a 3.5 million-man armed force totaled $32.6 billion; fiscal 1974 costs for a force of roughly 2.2 million men are estimated at $43.9 billion. This represents a difference of $11.3 billion (inadvertently misstated as $12.3 billion in my March 3 article)—a 30 percent dollar increase for an all-volunteer force in fiscal 1974, some 37 percent smaller than a combined volunteer and draft force in fiscal 1968. In my judgment, half the difference, or $5.65 billion, is roughly the incremental cost of the all-volunteer force.

While Mr. Kelley gives no cost figures in his letter, in his press conference on March 23, he estimated the fiscal 1974 incremental cost for the all-volunteer force at $3.1 billion (a figure, incidentally, some $1 billion less than the $4 billion incremental cost used in the Office of Systems Analysis in the Pentagon). I believe the $3.1 billion figure to be decidedly on the low side in terms of fiscal 1974. Moreover maintaining an all-volunteer force of the same size will clearly be more expensive in later years, not simply because of inflation, but also because the fiscal 1974 costs are computed in an environment of sharp reduction in the number of men in the armed forces, an increase in 31,000 civilians to take over military jobs and an increase in the number of women from 31,500 in fiscal 1972 to 53,600 in fiscal 1974 to take over military jobs. But whether the cost is closer to $3.1 billion or $5.65 billion, it is still too much to invest in volunteer mercenaries at this stage of our history.

The "quiet decision" point in my March 23 article was not intended to imply that the all-volunteer army concept was announced with a muted trumpet. What was orchestrated in such muted tones was the *cost* of achieving an all-volunteer force; what has been missing from our national life has been a serious and, if you will, noisy public debate over whether those extra billions—$3.10 or $5.65—are better spent creating a force of military mercenaries or on our domestic needs.

In his press conference of March 23, as reported in *The Washington Star-News*, Mr. Kelley rejected as "irrelevant" and as a matter that "doesn't concern me" whether the all-volunteer force concept will "attract people from the lower economic range" to wage war for the rest of us. In his letter Mr. Kelley appears to back off from this position, asserting that the all-volunteer force is attracting "a typical cross-cut of main street USA—rich, poor and middle class," and that "75 percent of the entries have high school or better educations." The assertions are somewhat contradictory to the March 1973 special report of Secretary of Defense Elliot Richardson on the all-volunteer force. In that report Secretary Richardson expresses concern at "a sharp decline in the percentage of high school graduates among Army enlistees" and notes that "the overall percentage of high school graduates among enlistees for all of the Armed Services dropped from 71 percent in [fiscal] 1972 to 63 percent in the first half of [fiscal] 1973." In the army, where the tough, dangerous, dirty work of fighting ground wars is done, the percentage of high school graduates among enlistees dropped from 70 percent in fiscal 1972 to 52 percent in the first half of fiscal 1973. High school graduates are particularly important for the armed services not simply because they have, in the words of Secretary Richardson's special report "consistently performed better in their military jobs," but because such graduates "have had fewer disciplinary problems than those who have not graduated." The comments of the secretary of Defense are consistent with the analysis of the all-volunteer force by Morris Janowitz in the March 1973 *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. There Janowitz concludes that "progress toward numerical quotas in part is the result of compromises in quality."

Finally Mr. Kelley ignores the central points of the case against an all-volunteer force. There is no question but that recruitment for an all-volunteer force levels its appeal at the mercenary instinct of the potential enlistee; the special report of the secretary of Defense is full of financial goodies to attract them, up to a request in the $225 million Special Pay Act for "authority to

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pay up to $15,000 to an individual during critical retention years." Aside from the offense that a mercenary force of this kind commits against the concept of social justice in a democracy, among its potent political impacts will be to remove the need for the President to have any concern about drafting middle- and upper-class Americans before he decides to embark upon bellicose adventures around the world. It is my profound belief that every reasonable inhibition should be placed upon those who have the power to make the decisions of war and peace in the 1970s and that a critical defect in the proposal for the volunteer army is that it could make it too cheap and easy for national leaders to make the initial decision to wage a war. As we all know, it is from that initial decision of one or a few men that it is so difficult for subsequent leaders and an entire nation to retreat. By removing the middle class from even the threat of conscription, we remove perhaps the greatest inhibition on a President's decision to wage war, at a time when the *de facto* constitutional power and logistic capabilities of Presidents to station US forces in any part of the world and intervene in any war is markedly greater than at any time in our history.

At the policy-making level, civilian control of the military is no easier than civilian control of the civilian bureaucracy or mayoral control of a local police force. As powerful and well connected as the military establishment is in corporate and congressional America, there is at least the continuing check of turnover in both the officer and enlisted corps of scores of thousands of men who enter and leave the military each year and make their career in civilian professions. What, for an extreme but true example, would the chance have been of exposing the Mylai massacre if the only Americans present had been soldiers who were totally dependent upon the army for their active career and their retirement pay? The congressional seniority system, the steel industry and some labor unions bear eloquent witness to the dangers of excessively sustained professional parochialism.

Moreover from the point of view of a military increasingly (and too often unfairly) suspect by the civilian establishment and the most educated classes in our nation, it would seem important to continue to have a constant flow of young draftees and temporary reserve officers from military life to civilian life. In that way, the military has in the civilian society a number of citizens who have experienced military life, understand it and more frequently than not support the military establishment.

Mr. Kelley asks what I would substitute for the volunteer army—"the draft?" My response is a resounding yes—I would rather draft a broad cross-section of society to defend our national security than be totally dependent on paid mercenaries for that task. I might in turn ask Mr. Kelley: What are we to say of a society that can no longer inspire its young men to serve in its armed forces or fight for its national security policies? Not simply (I hope) that it is fortunate that we have enough money to buy mercenary volunteers.

What is of such profound concern to me is that so many of our national leaders on both sides of the aisle so wholeheartedly support this move to ease the burden of the affluent and thus make it easier politically to engage in military adventures abroad at a time when our nation desperately needs a real measure of inspired sacrifice at home and the strictest inhibitions of further military adventures in far-off lands. Whether the cost is $3.1 billion, as Mr. Kelley contends, the $5.65 billion that I contend, or some billions in between, I am one citizen who would rather distribute the burden of military service equally across the social, educational and economic classes of our nation and use the special bonuses Mr. Kelley offers to potential military mercenaries to assist the disadvantaged of our society.

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.

MR. CALIFANO *is a Washington attorney who served as special assistant to President Johnson for domestic affairs; prior to that he was special assistant to Secretary of Defense McNamara.*

"Sand County"

Sirs:

John J. McMahon provided a service to the readers of *The New Republic* in his "Reconsideration: *The* [*sic*] *Sand County Almanac*" (March 31, 1973) which reviews one of the greatest books ever written about man and nature. *A Sand County Almanac* should be one of those books which all well-read people read. Mr. McMahon erred, however, in stating that "It never had a companion volume. . . ." Aldo Leopold's son Luna edited his father's journals and published the material as *Round River* (Oxford University Press, 1953, 1972). Most of the book is composed of diary excerpts but it contains a few essays. Material from both books was reissued by Sierra Club/Ballantine (1970-72) in a paperback edition called *A Sand County Almanac: with essays on conservation from Round River*. Readers who have enjoyed *A Sand County Almanac* will likewise enjoy *Round River*.

Channing R. Kury
Albuquerque, NM

Budget Requests

Sirs:

In the lead editorial, "Budgetary Shell Game," (March 31, 1973) *The New Republic* has quite innocently accepted as truth a rather pernicious myth that is also accepted—also mainly innocently—by a majority of members of Congress. The myth is that Congress regularly each year has reduced President Nixon's (and previous Presidents') requests for appropriations. It is of great importance in many ways—the right level of government spending, inflation, the battle between Congress and the President—that the myth be dispelled. A number of senior members of Congress, particularly those on the new Ullman committee considering budget reform, have fortunately become aware that what they have believed for years is a fallacy.

As stated the proposition is true: Congress does make each year a net reduction in appropriations bills taken as a whole and as amended by the President as the year goes on. The fallacy arises from the belief that appropriations bills determine government spending. They are now the least important part of the process. They either are not involved at all (social security, medicare, highways) or they simply automatically ratify "formula" bills approved by legislative committees and Congress as a whole (veterans' education and disability benefits, matching grants to the states for welfare and medicaid, coal miner black lung benefits, civil service retirement, military retirement, military pay, food stamp eligibility, annual housing subsidies, farm income and price supports). These items now account for most government spending. The outlays depend on who qualifies,

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and by what formula—not on a *pro forma* appropriations bill that comes after the fact.

Congress has regularly been *increasing* spending in these areas. Once the President signs the law—and perhaps Mr. Nixon signed too many of them in past years—then his appropriations *request* automatically goes up and Congress automatically approves it. Congress has no alternative.

The next time a congressman says, in all sincerity, that Congress has reduced the total of appropriations requests submitted by the President, he should be asked 1) how much higher those total requests were this year than last year or the year before that and 2) how much of this increase was because of actions of Congress last year and the year before that. In calendar year 1972, despite some considerable appropriations reductions where reductions were possible—mainly in defense—Congress *added* a net total of more than $5 billion to government spending.

The point here is not to argue at all the merits of any set of budget priorities, nor your own impressive case for further defense reductions. It is only to suggest that this crucial debate should not be based on myths—believed in Congress itself—about how spending happens. Hopefully, we can emerge from Matthew Arnold's situation where "ignorant armies clash by night."

Edwin L. Dale, Jr.
Washington, DC

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

hair-trigger operation would certainly have foreseen the language difficulty. Later, when the police allow them to escape, their driver runs amok and smashes them up, though they are not hurt. It's idiotic.

Buster Keaton's two rules of comedy were: 1) get the laugh; 2) don't be ridiculous. Lelouch knows only the first.

Still there are some amusements, like the first meeting of the two Italian members of the gang, well played by Lino Ventura and Aldo Maccione. And there is a good satiric scene when the gang arrives in an "emerging" African nation as revolutionary heroes and makes nonsense speeches from an airport platform which are hailed by the crowd—who respond, of course, to tones of voice and take their cheering cues from inflections. Listen carefully to Denner in this sequence, if you want to hear a true theater voice being used by a real actor.

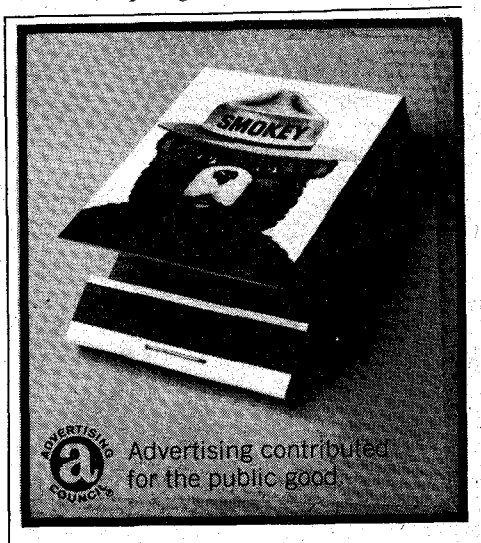
His performances in *Landru* and *Life Upside Down* were acting highlights of the '60s. How I wish he would get more parts worthy of him. (Note to Joseph Losey: Denner is perfect for Proust in your forthcoming film. So he'll speak English with an accent. What of it?)

Scorpio (UA). Another loser from Michael Winner. This flashy English clunk, who has directed such disasters as *I'll Never Forget What's 'Is Name* and *The Nightcomers*, now does an international espionage thriller and never sets a foot freshly. For instance: a central character is seen in a hotel lobby with a profile figure seen fuzzily in the foreground. Focus is changed so that the foreground figure becomes clear—and this ancient device tells us that the foreground figure is important, is a spy watching the central character behind. Or: Alain Delon turns from a ticket counter and starts toward the camera, which dollies ahead of him, as ostensibly he is about to leave on a plane. As soon as we see this shot, we know he's going to be stopped; and sure enough, folks, two men step in from either side of the screen and pin Delon by the arms. I'd like to have a hundred dollars for every time I've seen that strophe in a crime film. I'd bail out Paul Scofield, who is a Russian spy in this picture.

Burt Lancaster is CIA, Delon is his contract killer. There's no point in criticizing the ridiculousness of the plot, which is par for this sort of film, but good spy films let us forget the ridiculousness until later. Here that's impossible, largely because of the dialogue by David W. Rintels and Gerald Wilson, redolent of the new university-trained hack who dabbles in political frankness, Greek mythology, and symphonic music, and who writes a species of herniated poetic diction that comes from Clifford Odets' wastebasket down through the genes of Abby Mann and S. Lee Pogostin. (Lancaster says to Delon: "You have the bad breath of priests.")

This is one more of the thrillers that, as TV thrillers now do too, ravish the world. Georgetown in Washington and Vienna are principal locations. Soon we won't be able to go anywhere lovely without remembering that some cheapjacks exploited it as décor for sententious (and quite bloody) trash.

Correction. In my review of *The Tooth of Crime* (March 24), I said that Richard Schechner's "environmental" idea was not new, that Luca Ronconi had done it previously in *Orlando Furioso*. Mr. Schechner points out that Ronconi stated he got the idea from "certain American theories synthesized by Schechner in his axioms on environmental theater. . . ." (*The Drama Review*, No. 47.) Apologies.



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Where are the bikeways?

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You've probably heard a lot about today's bicycle boom and the many advantages bicycling offers. It is clean, quiet, inexpensive, energy-efficient, healthful — and fun. You might say the bicycle is one of the world's greatest inventions!

However, there *is* one big, sobering drawback: Bicycling in North America today simply isn't safe! An estimated 900 bicycle riders will be killed and more than 40,000 injured in bike-auto accidents this year alone in the United States. Most of these accidents could be avoided with adequate bikeways — separate pathways just for bicycles and safe routes in conjunction with roads.

But: *Where are the bikeways?* This country's 80 million cyclists have only 16,000 miles of bikeways, or about *13 inches for each bike rider*! Compare that with the 3 million miles of paved roads available to 90 million motorists. And most of the existing bikeways are far from ideal. Instead of protective curbing to separate bikes from autos, you usually find just white lines or signs along the road's edge, which do little more than lull both cyclists and motorists into a false sense of security.

Who is holding things up?

Why aren't our millions of bicycle-riding taxpayers provided with better, safer facilities? Because most government bodies continue to pump *our money into still more roads*, highways, and freeways. Their actions make us even more dependent on automobiles, which results in more smog, noise, and traffic congestion — not to mention depletion of the world's natural resources.

And what about the citizens who *must* rely on alternate transportation? Half of our nation's adults do without the automobile, by need or by choice. Yet no major bikeway, bus or rail transit funds have been made available, and proposals fall ridiculously short of the *real needs*. The problem is further compounded by the fact that attempts to solve our transportation dilemma with gas tax funds continue to meet vehement opposition from powerful road and highway lobbies.

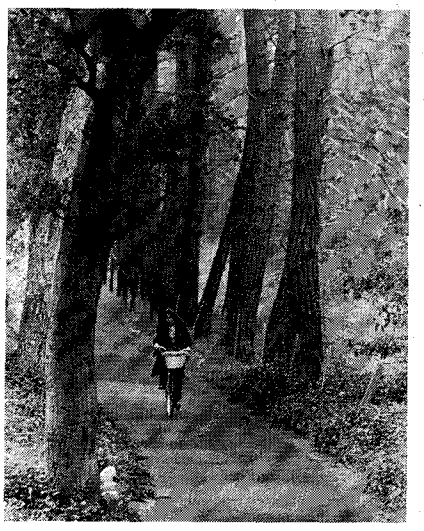

Photo by Jack Wilson

What could a bicycle community be like?

Here's a practical, viable alternative. Well-defined bikeways, separated from cars, radiate from residential neighborhoods to schools. On-street car parking gives way to protected bikeways on key thoroughfares. Bicycle storage facilities are located throughout the city. Commuters bicycle to public transportation stations, store their vehicles, and continue by bus or rail into commercial sectors of the city. Buses going into the countryside have racks to hold bicycles. Adequate bus and rail facilities play a key role, especially during bad weather. That's what we could have!

Friends For Bikecology is trying to help

Friends For Bikecology has been working two years for more and safer bikeways. We sponsored National Bikecology Week in May 1972, involving thousands of people in more than 70 cities throughout the nation. This activity served to publicize our ideas and goals and to win the support of many legislators and planners.

We have two main objectives. First, to see that bicycle, bus, and rail transportation receive an equitable share of public funds. In 1972, *$22 billion* of our gasoline and *property taxes* were spent in the United States for roads and highways, while *less than one billion* went for public transportation. And practically nothing was provided for bikeways! We must convince policy makers to support a balanced transportation system, including bikeways. Motorists will also benefit because congestion on roads and highways would be relieved.

Our second objective is to convince planners to "THINK BIKE!" They should see the bicycle as an essential part of the larger transportation system and an integral part of community life.

The facts are on our side. Traffic studies show that 43% of all urban work trips made by automobiles are four miles or less; and in 9 out of 10 trips, the driver is the sole occupant. These trips could just as easily be made on bicycles. Bicycles will even conserve the taxpayers' dollars. For example, a downtown auto parking structure costs approximately *$4000 for each car space* — enough to build an enclosed facility that can hold *150 bicycles*!

APR 16 1973

How you can help Bikecology help you

We can help bring about needed changes that will benefit everyone.

Bike rider or not, if you are interested in a safer, more sensible transportation system, please send us a contribution of $5 or more. You can also help by writing your local, state and federal representatives, asking them what they are doing to support bicycling and public transportation facilities.

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Please mail the coupon and your check for $5 or more to help Friends For Bikecology continue this important work. Thank you.

KEN KOLSBUN, Executive Director

TNR 2.

Friends For Bikecology
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